





## Japan Lodges Protest Over Reported Threat By Andropov on Arms

By Henry Scott Stokes  
New York Times Service

TOKYO — Japan lodged a strong protest Tuesday with the Soviet Union over a statement attributed to Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, that Moscow may aim some of its SS-20 nuclear missiles at U.S. military bases in Japan.

Japanese diplomats said Toshiro Nakajima, the deputy foreign minister, made an oral protest in Vladimir Y. Pavlov, the Soviet ambassador to Japan, during a 70-minute meeting at the Foreign Ministry. They said the protest also covered the growing Soviet military presence in the Far East, notably on islands claimed by Japan, and negative Soviet media coverage of Japan's relations with the United States and South Korea.

"Frustration just really boiled over," said a Japanese official. "Things have mounted up with the Russians and we let them have it this time."

Mr. Pavlov was reported to have taken a harsh attitude in his response. According to the reports, the Soviet ambassador said his government had to take into account nuclear weapons deployed by the United States on ships and in certain Asian countries.

Analysts said Mr. Pavlov may have been alluding to F-16 aircraft due to be stationed at a U.S. base in northern Japan in the mid-1980s. The F-16 is capable of launching nuclear weapons, Mr. Pavlov also seemed to be alluding to large stocks of U.S. nuclear weapons in South Korea and on aircraft carriers in the Pacific and Indian oceans.

Shiro Amaya, a Foreign Ministry spokesman, said the Japanese protest covered three main areas:

- Recent reports of remarks by Mr. Andropov. According to a report last week in the West German newspaper Die Welt, which officials here said was accurate, Mr. Andropov told Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel of West Germany recently that the Russians might move SS-20 rockets from European Russia to the Far East or east of the Ural Mountains.
- The Soviet military buildup in the Far East, and especially the deployment of modern fighter jets on the Kuril Islands, which are claimed by Japan.
- Concerted charges in the Soviet media that Japan, South Korea and the United States have formed a military alliance and that militarism is being revived in Japan.

"Soviet comments and hints to attack Japan with nuclear weapons are really aiming at increasing the anxiety of the Japanese people," Mr. Amaya said. This appeared to refer to a statement last week by Tass, the Soviet news agency, that plans to bolster Japan's defense make the country "a likely target for a retaliatory strike."

But the government appears to be most concerned about Mr. Andropov's reported remarks to Mr. Vogel. According to the reports, an agreement to reduce the number of medium-range missiles in Europe could lead to an increase in the number of such weapons in the Far East.

Defense Agency experts said the Soviet Union now had close to 100 SS-20 missiles in Soviet Asia, compared with a Japanese estimate of at least 20 a year ago. Most are aimed at China, but capable of reaching Japan, they said.

Mr. Andropov's reported comment also seemed to be in response to U.S. plans to move 50 F-16s to a base in Misawa, northern Japan, officials said.

The United States plans to deploy the F-16s beginning in 1985. Japan agreed last fall to a U.S. proposal to strengthen the base, to balance Moscow's decision to deploy more aircraft in the Kurils, which the Soviet Union took from Japan in 1945.

Last summer, Japanese intelligence officials said the Russians extended and improved a main runway on (Irapur, an island known to the Japanese as Etorofu. In December about 10 MiG-21s were deployed to replace MiG-17s that were withdrawn last summer.

The officials said they also had observed a steady reinforcement of Soviet positions on the islands.

The Japanese concern over Mr. Andropov's reported remarks also seemed motivated by fears that the United States and the Soviet Union might agree to cut back the number of missiles in Europe, without making provisions for the Far East, Foreign Ministry officials said.

The effect, they said, would have been to reach an agreement in Europe at the expense of Asia.

## Thieves Speed French Import Of Recorders

United Press International

POITIERS, France —

Thieves moved in to help whitewash an enormous backlog of imported video tape recorders that have been stacking up in customs warehouses here under new government import restrictions, police said Tuesday.

They said the thieves circumvented a pair of watchmen and their guard dogs and used a crowbar Sunday night to break into two consignments of recorders stacked in the center's parking lot.

A total of 101 recorders were taken from the two containers, which the thieves sealed up and put back into place, delaying discovery of the theft. Officials said nearly 200,000 Japanese recorders were currently awaiting customs clearance in Poitiers. The government ruled in autumn that the city would be the only port of entry for imported video equipment.

## Pérez de Cuéllar to Visit Russia; Afghanistan Is Said to Be a Topic

The Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS, New York

UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said Tuesday that he would visit the Soviet Union March 28 and March 29 at the invitation of Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader.

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar made the announcement at a news conference. He added that no agenda had been fixed for his talks in Moscow.

■ **Afghanistan a Topic**

Earlier, Bernard D. Nossiter of The New York Times reported from the United Nations:

Western diplomats said Monday that Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar had closed his plans for the trip earlier this month when he met with President Ronald Reagan in Washington. Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar reportedly told Mr. Reagan he intended to be firm in his discussion of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar's intention, the diplomats said, is to make a

fresh effort to win the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

The Moscow visit will mark Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar's first extended meeting with Mr. Andropov, although it will be the secretary-general's third official visit to the Soviet capital. He met with the ailing Leonid I. Brezhnev in September and attended the Brezhnev funeral in November.

Diplomats and officials at the UN are skeptical about Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar's ability to win concessions from Mr. Andropov. However, the fact that Mr. Andropov asked the secretary-general to come is regarded as a promising sign.

The secretary-general's trip to Moscow will follow the current mission to South Asia by his special representative, Undersecretary-General Diego Cordóvez, who is trying to negotiate an agreement on the pullout of the estimated 105,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

Mr. Cordóvez is required to take at face value the Soviet Union's contention that its troops were invited by the Afghan government, and so he is barred from direct contact with Moscow. Instead, Mr. Cordóvez limits his meetings to Afghanists and its neighbors, Iran and Pakistan.

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar has been

reported as saying that he does not expect Mr. Cordóvez to return empty-handed, but it is unclear how Mr. Cordóvez will gain any accord from the insurgents since he is barred from talking directly to them also.

While Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar is in Moscow, he and Mr. Andropov are also due to discuss arms control.

■ **Search in Afghan Town**

In Islamabad, Pakistan, Western diplomatic sources said Monday that Soviet and Afghan troops had begun a house-to-house search in the northern Afghan town of Mazari-Sharif for up to 16 Soviet civilian advisers abducted by rebels early this month. Reuters reported.

The sources, quoting what they described as reliable reports from the area, said the rebels had taken several women hostage and were barring people from entering or leaving the area. The sources said villages around the town, the capital of Balkh province, which borders on the Soviet Union, were being bombed in retaliation.

Diplomatic sources reported earlier that the Soviet advisers had been kidnapped by rebels outside Mazari-Sharif Jan. 3. An Afghan resistance spokesman in Pakistan confirmed early this month that the rebels were holding 15 advisers.

## Jiang's Death Sentence Is Commuted in China

By Michael Weisskopf

Washington Post Service

BEIJING — Jiang Qing, Mao's widow, who had been sentenced to die for persecuting thousands of Chinese during the Cultural Revolution, was spared from the firing squad Tuesday and sentenced instead to life imprisonment.

Miss Jiang, 69, whose 1981 death sentence had been set aside for two years to allow her time for self-reproach, was found by court review not to have "resisted reform in a flagrant way," Chinese radio reported Tuesday night.

Foreign analysts said the ruling seemed constructed to justify the politically expedient reprieve without suggesting that she had repented.

According to Chinese criminal law, death-row prisoners who demonstrate "sufficient repentance" during a reprieve can have their sentences commuted to life imprisonment.

Far from remorseful during her 1980 show trial, Miss Jiang mocked the proceedings, spouting radical epithets and denouncing Mao's moderate successors as "revisionists."

The two-year reprieve is said to have had little impact. As late as August, the Communist Party general secretary, Hu Yaobang, told foreign journalists, "Jiang Qing lives well in prison, but she persists in behaving as a political and ideological enemy of our people."

The ultimate commutation of her sentence, however, is believed never to have been in doubt by the current government, which apparently regards her less dangerous as an imprisoned enemy than as a martyr whose execution could trigger a backlash from latent leftists.

The Supreme People's Court also commuted the death sentence of one of Miss Jiang's radical con-

federates, Zhang Chunqiao, 65, a former party vice chairman. Miss Jiang, Mr. Zhang and two other radicals were known as the Gang of Four. The other two, former Politburo leaders Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen, are serving prison terms of 20 years and life, respectively.

Broadcast nationally by the state-run radio, the commutations close the bloodiest chapter in Chinese Communist history. From 1966 to 1976, 100 million are said to have suffered somehow from the reign of terror of Mao's Red Guards. Prosecutors assembling evidence against Miss Jiang and her associates confined themselves to cases they could document: 34,000 deaths and more than 700,000 persecutions.

Miss Jiang, who as Mao's chief helpmate was held responsible for much of the suffering, insisted throughout the trial that she had merely acted on behalf of her husband.

Her offenses released such powerful emotions during the 39 days in court that the commutation decision Tuesday is certain to be unpopular with millions of Chinese who lost jobs, homes and health during the Cultural Revolution.

The decision is expected to be even harder to swallow because of the recent executions of Chinese officials for such crimes as embezzling \$30,000 from the state.

Miss Jiang's defense forced party leaders to conduct their first public evaluation of Mao, which they had been gingerly sidestepping for fear of arousing his ultra-leftist following still prominent in party circles. Since then, the government has steered the party into reassessing Mao as a brilliant but flawed leader who made serious mistakes in his final years.

## U.S. Cites Flexibility On 'Zero Option' Plan

The Associated Press

GENEVA — Paul H. Nitze, a U.S. arms negotiator, said Tuesday that the United States is "certainly not locked into" President Ronald Reagan's "zero option" proposal on intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Speaking to reporters in Geneva, where talks with the Soviet Union resume Thursday, Mr. Nitze said he was seeking an agreement that would be equitable and meet the security requirements of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

But he said the zero option "is the best way to achieve peace and security that mankind requires."

The chief Soviet delegate to the talks, Yuli A. Kvitsinsky, earlier Tuesday urged the United States to reach "an equitable agreement."

Mr. Kvitsinsky said on arriving in Geneva: "The time is approaching when a choice will have to be made between an agreement on joint steps to reduce the level of nuclear confrontation or a new round of the arms race."

The issue of nuclear arms in Europe "is becoming increasingly urgent and acute," Mr. Kvitsinsky said.

Officially, the U.S. position since the talks began Nov. 30, 1981, has been to press for acceptance of the zero option — the forgoing of NATO's plan to deploy new U.S. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles if the Soviet Union dismantles its own intermediate-range arsenal.

The offer has been rejected repeatedly by the Soviet Union.

The talks on intermediate-range forces have been in recess for two

months. Separate negotiations on strategic, or intercontinental, nuclear forces are scheduled to start again Feb. 2.

If the negotiations on medium-range missiles fail to produce agreement, NATO plans to begin deploying its new missiles late this year in West Germany, Britain, Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands.

The new weapons, NATO says, are to counter the Soviet arsenal of about 600 intermediate-range nuclear weapons, including about 340 highly accurate, mobile SS-20 missiles, 250 of which are aimed at Western Europe.

During the break in the talks, the Soviet Union has mounted a major peace offensive aimed, some observers say, at encouraging West European opposition to the U.S. missiles.

Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, offered in December to reduce the Soviet medium-range nuclear arsenal to 162 units, a level that he said corresponded to the size of British and French forces.

Mr. Andropov's proposal has been rejected by the United States and by both Britain and France.

On his way to Geneva Tuesday morning, Mr. Nitze met for two hours in Brussels with the NATO Council, composed of the permanent ambassadors to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He also conferred in Brussels with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, West Germany's foreign minister.

Mr. Nitze and Mr. Genscher reaffirmed that achieving the zero option should remain the goal for the Western alliance.

## Reagan Vows Firmness But Hints at Compromise

(Continued from Page 1)

proposal. But it is clearly the kind of approach that Mrs. Thatcher and the other West European leaders have in mind as they citizens balk at the U.S. missile deployment beginning late this year.

As an informal proposal made outside the main arena of the Geneva negotiations, the Nitze-Kvitsinsky understanding lacked Mr. Reagan's formal backing. So far, he prefers to stick to the zero option.

The intricate bargaining makes it difficult and often unwise for any government to telegraph its willingness to compromise. But the pressures of public opinion make it politically unsafe for an American president to appear inflexible. All that makes it hard for an outsider to know whether the two sides are shadowboxing or whether their negotiations have begun to move forward in earnest.

At the moment, U.S. officials talk of standing firm with the zero option at least until the West German elections on March 6.

The Reagan administration is united in opposing the drive by Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, for a deal that would equate the Soviet missile arsenal in Europe with the 162 nuclear missiles and bombers deployed by France and Britain, and that would leave the United States with no medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Even so, the Nitze episode has made it clear that some senior U.S. policy-makers have been contemplating a fallback position that would suit the objective of neutralizing the threat of Soviet SS-20 missiles and still find a compromise that would ease the political strains in Western Europe.

After a week of high-level deliberations and disclosures on arms control policy, the White House once again said on Monday, "There is no change in our position." But Mr. Nitze has also hinted at future flexibility if the Soviet Union is willing to give ground.

Doctors Report Heart Recipient's Nosebleeds Stop

United Press International

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — Doctors at the University of Utah Medical Center have removed gastric packing that was used to stop the nosebleeds of Dr. Barney B. Clark, the world's first recipient of a permanent artificial heart.

The bleeding began on Jan. 10 and surgeons placed the gauze in Dr. Clark's nose on Jan. 18. Hospital officials said the problem curtailed the retired dentist's activity and left him weakened.

Doctors removed the packing Monday. A spokesman for the medical center said they had determined "there was no bleeding."

The bleeding was caused by irritation from a nasal feeding tube and the use of anticoagulants to prevent clotting in Dr. Clark's artificial heart. Since he received the heart on Dec. 2, Dr. Clark has had three operations — to seal air leaks in his lungs, to replace a cracked valve in the heart and last week's operation to stop the nosebleeds.

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## WORLD BRIEFS

### U.K. Water Strikers Reject Offer

LONDON (AP) — Leaders of Britain's 30,000 striking water and sewerage workers rejected an offer of a 7.3-percent pay increase Tuesday from the National Water Council. A further one million people were told to boil their water Tuesday, bringing the total to five million on the second day of the walkout.

A mediator from the government arbitration service recommended the 7.3-percent increase Monday, to be spread over 16 months, with additional money for increased productivity. The water council accepted it, but leaders of the three unions in the strike held out for 15 percent.

One million people were advised to boil their water Tuesday in Yorkshire, where it was feared that millions of gallons of raw sewage would have to be pumped into the River Aire if the strike continued. Sewage was already being dumped into canals in the Manchester area.

### Cosmos Core's Re-entry Moved Up

WASHINGTON (WP) — A second segment of the falling Soviet surveillance satellite — a one-ton package that contains the satellite's main fuel core — is now expected to fall to Earth as early as Feb. 5, five to 10 days earlier than had been estimated.

The device is expected to burn up partially in the atmosphere, but could scatter bits of debris over 20,000 square miles (51,800 square kilometers) of the Earth, the Pentagon said Monday. It did not say when the debris might fall. A Pentagon spokesman said the reactor was in a 127-mile (203-kilometer) orbit from Earth at its lowest point and 13 miles at its highest.

It has fallen about 30 miles in the last 30 days and is now falling about three miles every day. The reactor travels around the Earth on the same far-ranging path that the radar segment of the satellite followed before it fell Sunday into the Indian Ocean, but it has fallen more slowly because it is lighter.

### Long Term for Tanaka to Be Asked

TOKYO (NYT) — In a major development in the Lockheed bribery trial, prosecutors will call Wednesday for a heavy prison sentence for former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. And leaders of six opposition parties said Tuesday that they would call for Mr. Tanaka's immediate resignation from Japan's parliament, the Diet.

Mr. Tanaka, 64, still one of the most powerful men in Japan, is charged with accepting a cash bribe of 500 million yen (\$2.08 million) from the Lockheed Corp. of the United States while he was in office in 1973 and 1974. He resigned from the Diet after his arrest in 1976 but was elected again later.

The maximum total sentence for taking the bribe and for a second charge, breaking foreign exchange laws, is seven and a half years in prison. Prosecutors are expected to demand a term of up to five years, a move likely to spark strong political reactions.

### U.K. Realigns Intelligence Panel

LONDON (AP) — Britain's central intelligence-analyzing body, which had been criticized for being slow to react to last year's dispute with Argentina over the Falklands, is to get a new full-time chairman, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher announced Tuesday.

Mrs. Thatcher told the House of Commons that a cabinet office bureaucrat will head the Joint Intelligence Committee. The change meant that the Foreign Office has lost the chairmanship of the key committee that its bureaucrats have headed since the end of World War II.

Mrs. Thatcher said the new chairman would have direct access to her and the heads of the MI-5 and MI-6 secret intelligence agencies. Last week the Franks report cleared Mrs. Thatcher of blame for failing to foresee the Falklands' seizure April 2.

### For the Record

ROME (AP) — Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo starts a two-day visit Wednesday to East Germany, officials said Tuesday. The Foreign Ministry said Mr. Colombo, the first Italian foreign minister to make such a visit, would discuss East-West relations with officials including the head of state, Erich Honecker.

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The United States and France signed a treaty Tuesday allowing French citizens in U.S. prisons and Americans in French prisons to serve their sentences in their homelands. The pact must be approved by the U.S. Senate.

## Poll Shows a Decline In Support for Reagan

By Howell Raines

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — President Ronald Reagan's image as a strong leader in firm control of his administration has apparently been damaged because of a decline in public support for some major policies.

He was expected to reaffirm those policies Tuesday night in his third State of the Union Message.

According to the latest New York Times-CBS News Poll, the reduced support for President Reagan is linked to a perception that he has failed to deal with unemployment or respond to the plight of the unemployed.

The poll showed that by most of its measures of presidential leadership, Mr. Reagan's standing has declined by at least as much as President Jimmy Carter's had after his first two years in office.

In addition, the poll, taken by telephone among 1,597 adults from Jan. 16 to Jan. 19, indicates that Mr. Reagan is out of step with a majority of Americans on two policies that form the foundation of his program. Of those polled, 6 out of 10 said they were willing to set aside the third year of Mr. Reagan's regime of income tax reductions and to reduce his planned increases in military spending to reduce the deficit in the federal budget. Last March, about half of those polled were willing to take these steps to reduce the federal deficit.

The findings of reduced confidence in Mr. Reagan — for example, only 35 percent of those surveyed think he is in control of his administration — come just as White House has mounted a public relations campaign to reclaim constituencies alienated by Mr. Reagan's policies and to buy more time for his economic program.

With the speech Tuesday night, on the heels of a news conference last Thursday accompanied by the publication of a 118-page defense of the Reagan record, White House officials said they hoped to project an image of an engaged president grappling in a practical way with the people's problems.

But the poll's findings of deterioration in public confidence in Mr. Reagan as a strong leader, the most striking feature, although his personal image is still basically positive, is a shifting and confidence in him as a leader appears to have fallen sharply.

At the start of his presidency, 79 percent of those polled regarded Mr. Reagan as a strong leader. In the new poll, that figure is down to 53 percent.

Majorities of 60 percent regard President Reagan as competent and believe he has a vision for the future. But only 52 percent are optimistic about the next two years with him as president; whereas two years ago, a solid majority, 69 percent, felt optimistic about his term.

Of those interviewed, 34 percent said the nation was "going in the right direction" and 59 percent responded that it was "on the wrong track."

spect and confidence that in the view, crippled Mr. Carter.

The poll registered a continuing steady decline in Mr. Reagan's job approval rating, to the point that it is statistically indistinguishable from the 42 percent approval rating that Mr. Carter had halfway through his term.

Of those polled, 41 percent said they approved of the way Mr. Reagan is handling his job, and 41 percent said they disapproved. The corresponding figures in a poll last September were 42 percent approval and 44 percent disapproval, with the balance in each case not sure of their opinion.

Mr. Reagan's new approval rating of 41 percent is the lowest since he took office. And it is down 26 points from the approval rating of 67 percent that he had after three months in office.

The public opinion survey also found that only 29 percent chose further cuts in programs for the poor as an acceptable way to reduce the deficit. White House officials said that Mr. Reagan, in his speech, would call for additional domestic spending reductions of \$30 billion, including cuts in welfare, education and Medicare.

The poll's findings indicate that people do not blame Mr. Reagan for causing unemployment. Indeed, 56 percent think his economic program will eventually help the country. But heavy majorities oppose his policy of working in jobs that he calls "make-work jobs" or his general resistance to allow special remedies to alleviate unemployment.

On the budget in general, the picture that emerges from the poll is that of a president at loggerheads with public majorities on unemployment as well as the other key issues of social spending, military spending and tax policy.

Politically, however, the change in Mr. Reagan's image is the most striking feature. Although his personal image is still basically positive, it is shifting, and confidence in him as a leader appears to have fallen sharply.

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## Norway Suspends Seal-Pup Hunts

OSLO (AP) — Norwegian seal hunters have called a halt to the hunting of seal pups this winter and will reduce the number of vessels involved in hunting older seals.

The action came in the form of a recommendation by the Norwegian Seal Hunting Council that the killing of hooded seals and Greenland seals under three weeks of age be halted, the council's chairman, Phillos H. Jonsgaard, said Tuesday. He said the number of vessels involved in hunting older seals would be cut from 10 to seven. The main reason cited was a difficult market situation.

But Aftenposten, an Oslo daily, said the council's decision was "a result of a Common Market proposal for a seal hunting ban and must also be seen in light of the propaganda that has been going on abroad against Norwegian seal hunting." Conservationists and animal lovers have objected to seal hunting, primarily by Norwegian and Canadian hunters, saying the practice is cruel and endangers the seal stock.

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## George Cukor, Noted as Director Of Katharine Hepburn, Dies at 83

United Press International

LOS ANGELES — George Cukor, 83, whose stylish, elegant films in the 1930s and 1940s made him famous as Hollywood's foremost director of actresses, died Monday night of heart failure, according to a spokeswoman for Cedars-Sinai Medical Center here.

Mr. Cukor's work, which helped win many Academy Awards for others but only one for himself, included such classics as "Dinner at Eight" (1933), "Little Women" (1933), "Gaslight" (1943), "The Philadelphia Story" (1940), "Adam's Rib" (1949) and "A Star is Born" (1954). He was especially well known for his films starring Katharine Hepburn.

His only Oscar came in 1964, for "My Fair Lady." But films he directed won a total of 18 Academy Awards.

He did not relish his reputation as the top "women's director," which he gained by beginning or aiding the careers of many leading actresses, particularly Miss Hepburn.

"Why don't they ever remember that I directed Jimmy Stewart and Ronald Colman to Oscars in 'The Philadelphia Story' and 'A Double Life'?" he asked in a 1978 interview.

He worked with almost all the great actresses of the 1930s and 1940s, including Jean Harlow, Greta Garbo, Judy Garland, Rita Hayworth, Marilyn Monroe, Audrey Hepburn and Ingrid Bergman.

He directed Katharine Hepburn in eight pictures, from her first starring role, in "A Bill of Divorcement" (1932), to several of her memorable films with Spencer Tracy.

Mr. Cukor's "Gaslight" won Miss Bergman the Oscar for best actress. In 1947 "A Double Life" won a best actor Oscar for Mr. Colman and marked the beginning of Mr. Cukor's collaboration with the writing team of Garson Kanin and his wife, Ruth Gordon. The next effort by the three was the popular Tracy-Hepburn film "Adam's Rib."

In "Camille" (1936) he directed Miss Garbo in one of her most highly praised roles. He made a star of Judy Holliday in "Born Yesterday" (1950), which won her an Oscar.

His version of "A Star is Born" is a cult favorite and many critics consider Judy Garland's performance in it to be her best, though the film was not a financial success.

With the exception of "My Fair Lady," Mr. Cukor's later films, such as "Bhowani Junction" (1956), "Heller in Pink Tights" (1959), "Let's Make Love" (1961), "Justine" (1969) and "The Blue Bird" (1976), were less well regarded.

For television, Mr. Cukor directed the Emmy award winner "Love Among the Ruins" in 1975, with Miss Hepburn and Laurence Olivier, and Miss Hepburn in "The Corn is Green" in 1979.

George Dewey Cukor was born July 7, 1899, in New York, the son of Victor Cukor, a Hungarian immigrant who became an assistant district attorney, and his wife, Helen.

Mr. Cukor began his career as an assistant stage manager for New York theater productions and later directed many Broadway plays. He started work in film in 1929 and became a director for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in 1933.

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A Thai Communist leader held a party banner as hundreds of his guerrillas surrendered in ceremonies northwest of Bangkok in late December. The defectors are among thousands of Communists who have surrendered



## ARTS / LEISURE

## Vintage Chart, 1960-1982

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Bordeaux red	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A
Burgundy red	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A
Burgundy white	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A
Rhône	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A
Sauternes	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A
Alsace	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A
Alsace (Vendée)	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A
Alsace (Piedmont)	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A
Alsace (Tuscany)	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A
Vallée	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A
Lombardy	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A	15A

\*Preliminary ratings. †Vallée includes Inferno, Grumello, Saseella, Valgella and Sturzel.

Numbers — 0 (worst) to 20 (best).

Letters: A: wine needs more bottle age; B: can be drunk now but probably would be better with more age; C: ready now; D: may still be good, but approach with caution; X: little wine was produced that year or it is likely to have deteriorated.

## Updating the Vintage Chart With the Best of the '82s

By Terry Roberts

**NEW YORK** One of the largest vintage charts in history has just gone into the cellar, as over Europe, prompting many wine fanciers to reassess their holdings with an eye toward making room for the 1982s when they come on the market. It is also an appropriate time to re-evaluate some other recent harvests and update the vintage charts, for many wines not previously available are beginning to appear in stores and restaurants.

Slavish devotion to vintage charts is fraught with peril, of course, because some good wines are produced in every bad vintage and many poor wines are made in every good vintage. But it is appropriate to bring the charts up to date for general reference, as long as consumers keep their shortcomings in mind.

Now is a prudent time to consider stocking up, because the large supply of wine for sale in Europe as a result of several big crops and the strength of the dollar in the "currency" markets has brought about price reductions, making French, Italian and other European wines especially attractive in the United States.

The pricing benchmarks are established in Bordeaux, because the famous reds of the region are favored by more collectors than any other wines. If prices fall for the wines of the Medoc peninsula that were classified according to quality in 1855, downward pressure is exerted on most other European reds and even on many California wines.

The word from Bordeaux, based mostly on speculation at this point, is that the opening prices for the best known Medocs in the premiere

brunche, or first offering, will be about the same as last year in France.

Weakness may come into the market after the wines with the best reputations are sold, reflecting the big supply available and the recessionary conditions prevailing all over the world. Quantities of the 1981, 1980 and 1979 Bordeaux also remain unsold, adding to the supply weighing on the market.

"While everyone will want the '82s, which very likely will be one of the great Bordeaux vintages, market chemistry says pricing pressure should be downward," says Barry Bassin, president of Barry Bassin & Co., a leading importer. His guess is that the so-called glamor wines — Châteaux Lafite-Rothschild, Pétrus, Palmer, La Mission Haut-Brion, and Ducru-Beaucailou; among others — will sell at high prices.

"Other grand crus will benefit from coastal buying along with the glaucon-wines," he says, "but time will be on the side of the buyers, especially those with cool heads and large checkbooks."

One thing that is already fairly clear is that the quality of the 1982 Bordeaux reds is very high. It is too early to know how the wines will evolve, but the early prognosis is that the vintage will turn out to be the best since 1961, although it may lack the longevity of that great year.

It is being given a preliminary rating of 19 on a scale of 20, and it is the third exceptionally good vintage in the last four in Bordeaux. The 1981 merits an 18 and the 1979 gets a 17, while the 1980 receives a 15.

"They consider 1982 an almost perfect vintage," says Abdallah H. Simon, president of the Chateau

and Estate Wines Co., the largest importer of classified Bordeaux, who has recently visited the region and spoken with most of the leading proprietors.

The weather in Sauternes, the southern Bordeaux subregion where some of the greatest sweet whites are made, was less favorable than in the red-wine areas. Rain occurred during the picking, and the quantity was enormous. The quality was uneven, but the 1982 is still considered fairly good, meriting a 17.

Conditions in Burgundy were not quite as favorable as in Bordeaux, but the crop was abundant and many very good wines were made. A preliminary rating for the

1982 reds from the Côte d'Or would be 16, and 17 for the whites. Both are considered one point better than the 1981s. The Burgundy reds of 1976, incidentally, are being downgraded from 19 to 16 because they are fading rapidly.

Germany experienced the largest crop ever recorded, perhaps 50 percent more than the previous record harvest in 1973. "You can't make that much wine and still make a good wine," says Peter M.F. Sichel, a leading importer. He says the quality is disappointing. The Rhines of 1982 receive a 12 and the Mosels, Saars and Rainers a 13, well below the quality level of the 1981s.

Italy also recorded a large crop,

about 5 percent bigger than the 1981, and the wines were very good. Quality was better in such northern growing areas as the Piedmont, Lombardy and Tuscany than in the southern part of the country. The big reds of the north apparently will be fairly high in quality, meriting anywhere from 17 to 19 on a preliminary basis.

The Piedmont, home of the great Barolos, Barbarescos and Gattinaras, among others, benefited most from the warm, sunny weather and probably produced the best wines. The Barolos of 1982, in fact, may ultimately merit 20, but these are wines that take many years to mature, so evaluating them at this point is premature.

## Guides to the Top Bottlings of Italy

New York Times Service

THE WINES of Italy have been receiving a lot of attention from consumers all over the world and now account for close to 60 percent of the U.S. market for imported wine. Their popularity and diversity have inspired several new or recent books.

The latest is Victor Hazan's "Italian Wine" (Knopf, \$17.95), a comprehensive guide to most of the wines from Italy to be found on the export market. Hazan and his wife, Marcella, the cookbook author, have conducted a cooking school near Bologna for seven years, at which he teaches about wine.

Hazan's book follows Burton Anderson's "Vino," published in 1980, which spawned an offshoot last autumn, "The Simon and Schuster Pocket Guide to Italian Wines" (\$5.95), by the same author.

"Italian Wine" and "Vino" are not overwhelmingly duplicative. Hazan has chosen to focus on the wines themselves, describing them with relish and insight, whereas Anderson, who has lived in Italy for years, focuses on the people, companies, consortiums, lore and geography behind the wines.

If I had to choose one for my own, it would probably be "Italian Wine" because of its subjectivity. Ha-

zan's descriptions of flavors, bouquets and styles are a delight to read, both accurate and imaginative.

In a departure from most wine books, "Italian Wine" is organized according to the flavor properties of each wine rather than according to geography. The vintage ratings are one of this book's strong points. They seem to be based on the author's own experiences and differ from other charts. For example, he has obviously revelled in the Spanna Campi Raudii 1961 of Vallana, a wine of sufficient quality to give all Spannas of that vintage high marks.

Anderson's "Vino" is just as useful and his observations are just as astute. Furthermore, the book is more comprehensive, containing a range of background and history. Indeed, it is almost scholarly, whereas the Hazan book is passionate.

Anderson's new pocket guide is entirely different, meant to be a quick reference for the diner confused by a comprehensive Italian wine list or the shopper facing an unfamiliar array in a store.

Its one shortcoming is that it is organized geographically, which means that novices must look up a wine name in the index and then turn to the indicated page. In any case, the index appears to be complete and the guide's geographical structure is certainly logical.

—TERRY ROBERTS

## Ungaro Outshines Lagerfeld

By Hebe Dorsey

International Herald Tribune

**PARIS** — Everybody loves the talented Karl Lagerfeld and wishes him well, but as John Fairchild, the publisher of Women's Wear Daily, put it after the Chanel show Tuesday: "Nobody can replace Coco, not even Kaiser Karl."

This was the most accurate verdict after Lagerfeld's first try at re-

creating a surprise from a man who made his reputation with tailoring. But Ungaro showed he could follow into Madame Grès's legendary footsteps, although his draping does not have the same precision. For one thing, he uses satin where she used jersey.

Ungaro played up giant puzzles of pleats, going in all possible directions. His best one was the white, with draping running diagonally across the draped bodice, vertically down the skirt and horizontally across the high draped cummerbund. Another good one was black and had a gigantic ruffle cutting across from shoulder to hem. He also had wonderful pajamas, the wide legs entirely pleated as well.

Draped evening clothes were the favorite of Ungaro's long line of fans and friends, including Marie-Hélène de Rothschild and Jacqueline Bynner.

All Paris designers so far seem to be wild about black and white. So is Ungaro, who did, however, include a few explosive colors, such as a pure cerise and a brilliant turquoise. He also did with colors what he used to do with patterns, mixing black, hot pink, turquoise and yellow in the same suit, sometimes with uncertain, wildly circus results.

Things can get a bit fancy at Ungaro's, especially when he puts black lace at the back of a bustled dress, or when he does white lace, long-torsoed Lolita dresses, with an explosion of ruffles around the knees.

His fabrics are the best in Paris, especially all those brocade silks mixed with lush satins. One can tell that Ungaro spends a lot of time working on his fabrics and they do give his collection a uniquely luxurious look. That, in part, explains why, of all Paris couture designers, he is the one who has made the greatest strides in the last couple of years.

Earlier in the day, Philippe Venet had Crown Princess Sonja of Norway fairly puzzled and mildly annoyed to be surrounded by the fashion press when she came to select her wardrobe for a forthcoming trip to the United States. She



Joe Dorsey

Ungaro showed all-pleated, black satin evening dress.

did not go back empty-handed, what with five suits (two of which had Venet's new longer jacket) and several evening dresses, both short and long.

A nice-looking woman in her mid-30s, with a fresh, wholesome Nordic look, the princess wore a ruby-red velvet jacket with sensible shoes. She went for the most quietly elegant clothes, including a one-shouldered soft peach evening gown with embroidered belt. The hot number, draped all the way down with a deep slit, did not however, pass the test. "Oh la la," as she said.

This reflects Venet's place in the fashion world today. A close friend of Hubert de Givenchy, who is well known for dressing the ladies, he appeals to low-key but classy women who want the quiet perfection of old-time couture.

## Capsule Film Review

The Canadian Film "Threshold"

Directed by Richard Pearce, is about a cardiac surgeon, Dr. Thomas Vrain (Donald Sutherland), who successfully implants the world's first self-contained artificial heart, designed by a research scientist (Jeff Goldblum), in a human patient (Mare Winning-

ham). According to Vincent Canby of The New York Times, the film is "a neat, modest movie" that "does not become involved in any moral questions raised by organ transplants" but "unless you're absolutely fascinated by heart surgery, 'Threshold' may not be a film you'll want to drop everything to see."

The International Herald Tribune invites you to meet the ASEAN Government leaders at an international conference on:

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February 9, 10 and 11, 1983 in Singapore

In the midst of an international economic crisis, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, the five members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, continue to show growth rates of 5% to 7% annually.

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The delegation from each country is listed below. A spokesman from each of the three major trading partners of ASEAN — the United States, Japan and the EEC — has also been invited to participate.

## INTRODUCTION TO ASEAN

- H.E. Mr. Chan Kai Yau, Secretary General of ASEAN
- Mr. Masao Fujioka, President, Asian Development Bank
- Mr. Judithv Parman, Vice-President, Operations, Asia, Europe, Middle East, International Finance Corporation
- Mr. Lim Ho Hup, President, ASEAN Finance Corporation

## REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

- H.E. Professor J.B. Sumartono, Minister of State, Vice Chairman of Bappenas (National Development Planning Agency)
- H.E. Professor I.R. Soedarsono Hadisapetra, Minister of Agriculture
- I.R. Suhanto, Chairman of BKPM (Investment Co-ordinating Board)
- H.E. Mr. Sumitro Djodjodikusumo, Consultant, former Minister of Finance, Trade and of Research and Technology

## REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

- H.E. Mr. Teodoro Q. Pena, Minister of Natural Resources
- Mr. Edgardo L. Tordesillas, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry and Vice-Chairman of Board of Investment
- Mr. Jose P. Leviste, Jr., Secretary General of Office of Prime Minister

## REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE

- H.E. Dr. Tony Tan Keng Yam, Minister of Trade and Industry
- Mr. Hwang Peng Yuen, Chairman of the Economic Development Board

## KINGDOM OF THAILAND

- H.E. Major General Chaochai Choonhavan, Minister of Industry
- Mr. Sanoh Unakul, Secretary General of the National Economic and Social Development Board
- Mr. Chanchai Lertthavorn, Secretary General of the Board of Investment
- Dr. Thongchai Hongladaromp, Governor of Petroleum Authority of Thailand
- Mr. Sivavong Changkasin, Director General, Department of Mineral Resources, Ministry of Industry

## FEDERATION OF MALAYSIA

- H.E. Tengku Datu Ahmad Rithauddeen Bin Tengku Ismail, Minister of Trade and Industry
- H.E. Tan Sri Datu Ishak Bin Puteh Akhbar, Chairman of MIDA (Malaysian Industrial Development Authority)
- Mr. Burhan Abdullah, Director, Industrial Division, Ministry of Trade and Industry

## TRADE WITH ASEAN

- Mr. William E. Brock, United States Trade Representative
- Mr. Naohiro Amaya, Senior Advisor on International Economic Relations to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, Japan
- Viscount Ericene Davignon, Vice-President, Commission of the European Communities

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## The OPEC Breakdown

The blazing quarrel in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, and the collapse of its emergency meeting in Geneva, may bring a drop in oil prices — but don't count on it. The real meaning of this breakdown is that the political tensions within OPEC are moving erratically toward a climax that is totally unpredictable. A dangerous game is being played out, and neither the United States nor any other oil importer is going to have much influence on the outcome.

At the center of it is the fierce rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran. More broadly, it is the radicals, led by Iran and Libya, versus the deeply conservative Arabs of the Gulf. The radicals are getting a measure of reluctant support from a third group within OPEC — countries such as Nigeria and Venezuela that have embarked on expensive development programs and, in a shrinking oil market, are desperate for revenues to pay their debts.

In 1981, the Saudis imposed their will and their pricing policy on the rest of OPEC in a way that was more than a few friends. After the Iranian revolution, several producers — Libya, Algeria and Nigeria, the most radical and the most hard-pressed — had pushed their prices up to \$40 a barrel or more.

The Saudis believed that those prices were too high and threatened the market. They implicitly forced the high-flyers down by deliberately overproducing from their vast reserves. In September 1981, they pressed OPEC to an involuntary compromise based on

the present price of \$34 for a barrel of Saudi light crude. But the Saudis, like most other people, had seriously underestimated the scale of the worldwide recession that was getting underway.

Up to that time, each member country had been able to sell as much oil as it wished. But by early last year, it was clear that either OPEC would have to raise production or prices would fall. Last March, OPEC tried to impose production quotas, but they have been increasingly ignored as some member countries began discounting their oil.

The present explosion in OPEC was forced by Iran. Despite its war with Iraq, and the Iraqi attempts to bomb Iranian oil ports, Iran has been able to maintain its production during the past year. In a sagging market, which country is going to cut back to accommodate the Iranian increase? If nobody cuts, prices will drop. That would threaten the governments of many of the OPEC countries, but particularly the Saudi regime, which promised, when it imposed that compromise price 16 months ago, to enforce it. Throughout the Third World, the price of oil has taken on a powerful political meaning as the symbol of a great triumph over the rich nations.

Perhaps prices will fall and perhaps not. But the evidence of political strain and instability is rapidly accumulating in the Gulf region, on which the world's economy still crucially depends. The next move is the Saudis.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Pentagon High-Rollers

The approaching struggle in the U.S. Congress over reducing the Defense Department's budget will resemble a debate among surgeons about how best to contain an inoperable cancer. But cutting is not the only necessity; some cures lie deeper.

Beyond the heavy costs of manpower, a force that feeds the Pentagon's seemingly insatiable appetite for dollars is a stream of new, high-technology weapons, justified on the ground that superior quality is needed to offset Soviet advantages in quantity. The new weapons share several grave problems.

First, many are not very effective. Their high technology procures advantages that look impressive on paper but are only marginally useful in battle. The Air Force has invested heavily in radar missiles that shoot down enemy planes at ever-increasing distances. But most combat occurs at shorter range, where cannon or simple heat-seeking missiles are more effective, as was proved in Lebanon.

The Navy has based its air defense on two long-range, vastly expensive systems. F-14s carrying Phoenix missiles and the Aegis escort vessel. Both depend on powerful radar that will advertise their presence to an enemy and invite intense attack. In the Falklands War, the Sheffield's radar betrayed it in this way.

The Army's tanks are best at long-range snipe shots, not the more likely rapid-fire at close range.

The other problem with complex weapons is that they cost more, so that fewer can be bought, and they break down more often, so that fewer still are available at any time for combat. The operational availability of Navy and Marine planes is projected to decline through the 1980s.

A recent report prepared by George Kuhn

for the Heritage Foundation, no foe of military spending, warns that even the significant higher military budgets of the Reagan administration will fail to improve fighting strength. Because of rising costs, the Reagan plans will buy fewer tanks and fighters than President Jimmy Carter planned to buy.

Most of the added costs result from initial underestimates and program changes, not by factors beyond the Pentagon's control. The F-14 now costs more than five times its original estimate, the F-16 nearly nine times more, the Tomahawk missile five times more, the M-1 tank seven times more. No budget can withstand such runaway growth.

One root of the problem, in Mr. Kuhn's view, lies in the Pentagon's misguided use of technology. Military planners subordinate tactical needs to the supposed benefits of new equipment. Believing simple means primitive, they buy the most advanced technology and push weapons into production even when tests point up severe flaws.

The fighting in Lebanon and the Falklands has underlined that it is skills and tactics, not technology, that win wars, and that simple weapons perform better than complex systems. Some of the weapons the Pentagon is now struggling to build do not bear the marks of this lesson. Money goes for nuclear attack submarines instead of quiet diesel-electric ones at a fourth the cost, for complex long-range tanks that will carry 100 little ammunition, for fighter aircraft too delicate for battle and equipped with missiles too expensive to test.

Through its addiction to complex technology, the Pentagon seems willing to sacrifice both quantity and effectiveness for weapons of unbearable cost and dubious advantage.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Opinion

### The Troubled Cartel

It would be premature to say that OPEC is dead, but after the shambolic meeting in Geneva it is at the very least in abeyance. What is most striking about the OPEC bust-up is the way member countries' political and economic differences overrode their mutual greed. Iran openly abused Saudi Arabia in political terms. Nigeria and Venezuela were both motivated by the specter of bankruptcy. Iraq, of course, remains at war with fellow member Iran. In all, the collapse of the cartel must be good news. Britain, as a producer, may suffer from ill effects. They should be outweighed by the relief to the world economy.

—The Daily Telegraph (London).

After [Monday's] failure to reach agreement at a meeting OPEC leaders themselves acknowledged to be the cartel's severest test in its 22-year history, there is a very real prospect that OPEC will now crumble. World oil prices may fall for the first time in a decade, with consequences that could eventually encompass nearly every aspect of economic and social life in the West. This is a giddy prospect.

—The Times (London).

### Gandhi's Setback

Indira Gandhi: Look at the name, hear it trilled and droned. It seems to sum up all that India has stood for since independence, and

even well before. Though no kin to the mahatma, her marriage name, by stroke of fortune, forms the very anthem of *ahimsa*, or non-violence, that was the freedom movement's wellspring, while her given name could pass for that of the republic itself.

As banneret of her father's Brahmin dynasty, moreover, she wears the Nehru mystique as a perceptible corona whitening the outer curls. If souls in transit have an affinity for specific lodgings among the unborn, could it be that ringing names attach themselves to great leaders? And if so, why is "Indira Gandhi" sounded so often today as the equivalent of a four-letter word?

As Mrs. Gandhi reads the returns from state elections [early this month] in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, she might do well to ponder that question. The turn against Mrs. Gandhi in both rock-riveted Congress states of India's midriff was very bit as decisive as the 1977 poll that banished her from power. Adding insult to injury, reactions across the country were as euphoric as they were following that first post-emergency election.

But for better or worse, the prime minister has proved the only enduring needler of her generation capable of keeping stitched together the formidable crazy-quilt of ethnic, religious and political colorations that is India. In the short term at least, the nation is likely to lose more than it gains if Mrs. Gandhi's grip were to become untenable.

—Asiaweek (Hong Kong).

## Vietnam Lessons, 10 Years After the Paris Treaty

By William Pfaff

PARIS — The Paris Peace Agreements were signed 10 years ago this week. They brought no peace to Vietnam. They merely allowed the United States an ungraceful exit from a war American public opinion no longer would sustain.

The agreements could not make peace for Vietnam because the two forces within that country, contending to control its destiny, remained unreconciled. The Paris agreements changed nothing for them.

The South Vietnamese government did not want the agreement. Its leaders were not fools. They knew that the war would go on, and that they would be fatally weakened. They accepted, in extremis, these pieces of paper because the U.S. government left them no alternative.

The North Vietnamese authorities — and the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam — wanted the settlement because they wanted the United States out of Vietnam. But they certainly were not renouncing, on the very edge of success, the struggle Vietnamese Communists and allied nationalists had been conducting, at immense cost, ever since the 1920s and 1930s.

Did Henry Kissinger, who negotiated the agreements for the United States, really believe that the struggle would end? Possibly. One believes what one wants to believe. And Mr. Kissinger in his memoirs says that the threat of further bombings of North Vietnam could have successfully enforced the

agreements had American public opinion not undermined him, and if Watergate had not reduced the Nixon administration to ruin.

He does not attempt to explain why the mere threat of more bombing, after U.S. ground forces had left the country, would have accomplished what actual bombing had been unable to achieve while the United States still had nearly half a million troops in Vietnam.

The truth is that in January 1973, the United States had lost the war, and North Vietnam had won. North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front had only to push a little more, bleed their Vietnamese enemies a little more, and it would be over. Everyone understood this, except those whose involvement and emotional engagement impelled them to substitute hope for realism.

The United States was leaving the war not because a few hundred thousand peace militants were protesting, but because the common wisdom of the majority of ordinary Americans had concluded that to go on was either wrong or useless, or both. Washington's conduct of the war no longer enjoyed the confidence of the people.

It always had been a war that was going to be settled by the Vietnamese themselves. Either the non-Communists there had the guts and will to dominate their own country — they had the means, immensely greater military means than the

communists, matériel of a richness and sophistication beyond comparison with the other side — or else the NLF and the communists from the North would do it.

Ngo Dinh Diem came closest to success, by trying to re-create a form of traditional autocracy in Annam and Cochinchina. But it proved to be too late; in any case, the United States, upon whose material support he depended, would not stand for his methods.

What actually happened, of course, is that the war became America's war against the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian Communists, and there was no way for that to be a success. But America's war was not a success, and that is what happened. A series of military and pacification programs followed, and an invasion of Cambodia, each confidently proclaimed a success, leading up to the culminating "Vietnamization" program of American withdrawals and the Paris agreements, which were also successes — except that they were shortly revealed to be failures.

An equivalent fantasy afflicted the peace movement. The American role in the war was intolerable to a great many in the United States. Many of them, expressing the national impulse to look for heroes and happy endings, sought these on the other side and convinced themselves the National Liberation

Front and the government in Hanoi were composed of clear-eyed democrats working for a better life for the peasants.

This committed too many in the peace movement to a belief that when the war was won by the communists the result would be pleasing and just, vindicating all that the American opponents of the war had said in criticism of their own country, and of their own families: all the emotion spent, the bitterness, the exiles, the hatred.

What few people on either side seemed capable of recognizing was that Vietnam and its war had no good endings in sight, only bad ones. That it was, to use a much overworked expression, a political tragedy, or at the very least, an affair of dilemmas and bad choices. It was a war between individuals, nearly all of whom wanted not such bad things for their country, or even wanted good things, but happened to be implacably, murderously, divided on what these might be.

By the time they had fought one another for nearly 30 years, pitilessly helped on both sides by the great powers, their society already disoriented by a century of colonial occupation and cultural subversion, Vietnam was desperate, exhausted.

Cambodia, when the war was ended, launched into a new catatonic violence directed against Cambodians themselves. Something like this had happened before in

Khmer history, in and after the 12th century, near-suicidal internal war producing abandoned cities and ruin in the countryside, and subsequent partition of the country between Thais and Vietnamese.

The new Vietnamese authorities not only invaded Cambodia and annexed Laos, but also set about "educating" everyone and reducing all to the sad conformity which already marked North Vietnam, a country for which war had become the norm.

Even now, 10 years later, remarkably little seems to have been learned. Current foreign policy debates on arms control, Europe and Latin America, dimly repeat the Vietnam debate's self-righteousness on both sides.

And even the old argument is not over. Revisionist polemicists insist that if only the United States had invaded North Vietnam, or used nuclear weapons or "unleashed" other unspecified military measures, the war could have ended in freedom for all.

One scarcely knows what to say to this. But it all seems beside the point. It dishonors the dead on both sides (all sides, in Vietnam, "both" was never quite enough to say, our American dead, whether our cause was good or bad, all those whose names are on that long black monument on the mall in Washington. To them all — yellow, black, brown, white — R.I.P.

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## For Hanoi, the Tragedy of Victory

By Tad Szulc

WASHINGTON — This week's anniversary is an ironic and tragic occasion because Vietnam is still at war, though this time against its own enemies, and because it has become little more than a pawn in the Sino-Chinese rivalry in Asia.

Moreover, Vietnam has become a Soviet client state rather than the fully independent nation it had hoped to be when Ho Chi Minh rose to overthrow French rule in 1945, and an internationally isolated country with abysmally low living standards.

Much of the disaster, as it has unfolded over the last 10 years, may be attributed to Vietnam's wartime exhaustion, its shattered infrastructure — both North and South — and the dogmatic attitudes of the aging ideologues in power in Hanoi.

Still, it remains a valid and fascinating question whether all the events since 1973 were, in effect, foreordained by history, or whether they might have been averted or at least averted, had Vietnamese as well as U.S. policies moved in wiser directions. I believe a case can be made that a diplomatic and economic relationship might have evolved that offered Vietnam alternatives other than the Soviet alliance and internal calamity.

The ultimate communist victory in Vietnam in 1975 has not produced the "domino effect" in Southeast Asia that had been feared by Washington: Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, for example, are not seriously imperiled.

Further, Hanoi's entrapment in the endless war of its own making in Cambodia and Laos, plus propaganda notwithstanding, is not wholly unwelcome in Washington as it is deeply damaging to all the communist players in the region.

And in a way that could not be foreseen in Paris in 1973, it is Vietnam that seems, 10 years later, to be the principal victim of that conflict.

But if the war produced a winner, politically and strategically, it was clearly the Soviet Union — albeit at a great continuing cost — because the conflict's consequences neutralized China in Southeast Asia and permitted the Soviet Union to acquire military bases in Vietnam and Cambodia.

Yet there may have been lost opportunities for history to develop differently. First, President Richard Nixon promised, in a secret letter to the North Vietnamese prime minister, Phan Van Dong, \$4.75 billion in reconstruction funds, and agreed to a U.S.-North Vietnamese Joint Economic Commission. An economic accord was to be signed on July 23, 1973. What happened next is unclear. Though the chief American negotiator had reported on March 27, 1973, the day the last American soldier left Vietnam, that the pact was virtually ready, he was instructed the following week to break off the talks.

The official explanation was that

Mr. Nixon had decided to cancel the aid because Hanoi was infiltrating new military equipment into South Vietnam, violating the ceasefire, and because it went on fighting in Cambodia. Yet, Saigon was equally guilty of cease-fire violations, and American B-52s had become the bombing of Cambodia. (The cease-fire did not apply to Cambodia.)

What we do not know is whether Hanoi had resolved to sacrifice American aid for tactical advantage or whether Mr. Nixon deliberately overreacted to the violations because of opposition at home to reconstruction aid. Likewise, one wonders whether Hanoi would have launched the victorious 1975 offensive if it had been receiving American assistance.

Between 1973 and 1978, new opportunities developed. For more than two years, Vietnam had been resisting Soviet demands for military facilities at Cam Ranh Bay and Danang, seemingly keen on maximum independence, while sending signals to Washington that it wished to normalize relations. By 1977, the Carter administration responded favorably. Curiously, however, Hanoi wanted American aid as "reparations," an unacceptable notion. Hanoi abandoned that idea in 1978, but by then it was too late: Congress already had forbidden all aid to Vietnam, and Jimmy Carter was moving ahead toward normalization with Beijing.

Late in 1978, Vietnam joined



Comecon, the Communist common market, and signed a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union. Then it invaded Cambodia to overthrow the bloody, China-backed Pol Pot regime, and installed Heng Samrin as its puppet. Early in 1979, Vietnam granted the bases to the Soviet Union, greatly facilitating its naval operations between the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean. In February, China attacked Vietnam in an inconclusive border war. Vietnam's destiny as a Soviet ally was sealed.

The consequences for Vietnam have been awesome. The Cambodian war, now in its fifth year, is tying down 200,000 Vietnamese troops unable to defeat local guerrillas (and there are 60,000 troops in Laos

fighting Hmong tribesmen). Economically, Vietnam is barely surviving despite \$2 billion annually in Soviet aid. Per capita income fell from \$241 in 1976 to \$153 in 1981. Millions of Vietnamese have fled the country, a half-million are working in the Soviet Union. The septuagenarian Hanoi leadership is frozen in immobility, unable to cope with its problems.

This is Vietnam 10 years after the "peace" of Paris.

The writer is author of "The Illusion of Peace," a study of American foreign policy in the Nixon years. He wrote the article from which this comment was excerpted for The New York Times.

## Greed and the Predator Ethic: One Victim Is the Economy

By Robert J. Samuelson

WASHINGTON — Here is one activity that has survived the recession without too many scars: futures trading. Last year's volume rose 14 percent and was about double the 1978 level.

You may regard this as idle trivia, but it is more. Call it an example of the predator ethic. It is a pervasive paradox of wealthy societies. The richer they become, the more they turn from creating new wealth toward contesting existing wealth.

For futures markets are a classic zero-sum game. For every winner, there is a loser. Trade wins or loses depending on whether the price of specific "futures contracts" — ranging from pork bellies to new contracts in stock prices — rise or fall. Nothing is really sold on the market.

When you are pondering the causes of poor economic performance, you might pause a moment at this paradox. What has gone awry is the great logic of Adam Smith: his fusion of private greed and public good. In Mr. Smith's world, the path to individual riches lay in maximizing society's wealth. Seeking the greatest profits, producers naturally would embrace efficiency (because this would improve profits) and supply the most demanded products (which would command the highest prices).

But the wealthier a society grows, the clearer it becomes to everyone that there is another equally promising route to riches: getting your hands on some of the existing wealth. The predator ethic begins to rival the producer ethic.

You have only to glance about to realize the extraordinary importance of predatory activity. A recent issue of Fortune magazine estimated the total value of the 33 largest mergers in 1982 at \$30 billion. Initially at least, no merger ever creates new economic value. It is simply acquisition of existing wealth — like a family buying a second home.

Inflation and uncertainty have surely quickened predatory instincts because rapidly changing values hold the lure of quick profits. That helps explain much of the real estate frenzy of the late 1970s, when sales of existing homes jumped by two-thirds.

More important, as economist Mancur Olson has long argued, predatory logic drives groups to organize politically and economically. Once they perceive the gains of seizing someone else's wealth, they act to do so.

The legal system is an example. Divorce, "palimony," medical malpractice, libel and product liability suits all represent new ways that one group, or individual, goes after another's wealth. Between 1975 and 1982, product liability suits filed in U.S. federal courts jumped from 2,886 to 8,944.

All of this is understandable, and some of it is desirable. A democratic, capitalist economy is constantly torn between the political ideal of

equality and the economic reality of inequality. The rise of the welfare state and an increasingly responsive legal system reflect changed social sensibilities — an effort at reconciliation.

But no society has a bottomless pool of talent; the more it is drawn into predatory activity, the less is left for productive activity. Consider the futures markets. They serve one useful economic function: bedding — by commodity users or suppliers — against future price changes. But much of the trading is outright speculation, gambling spurred by the potential of staggering profits.

The zero-sum logic of winners and losers cancel means that trafficking in existing wealth is ultimately frustrating. But it is actually a negative-sum game because an increasing proportion of the nation's talent — lawyers, consultants, brokers, lobbyists, speculators — is devoted, usually quite profitably, to maintaining the traffic.

These represent increasingly large overhead costs: activities that make perfect sense for the individuals or firms involved but do not add much to society's wealth. Since 1960, the number of lawyers (now approaching 600,000) has more than doubled.

Government cannot eliminate this cost, in part because the line between predatory and productive behavior often blurs. Take mergers,

for example. When well-managed firms buy poorly run companies, real economic gain can result. But by the late 1970s, roughly 40 percent of merger and acquisition activity involved divestitures — companies selling off subsidiaries and divisions — suggesting that many firms had swallowed more than they could digest.

What the merger frenzy suggests are the peculiar temptations of huge wealth. Top executives usually do not own their firms but act as if they do. In part, executive egos — an ancient building lust — drive the megamergers. But the mergers recorded by Fortune, investment bankers, who act as advisers and intermediaries, collected \$170 million in fees.

If government cannot exorcise the wealth paradox, it can stop making it worse. Tax avoidance represents one of the greatest contradictions between private and public profit — an exercise that increases private but not public wealth. Existing provisions of the tax code actually encourage mergers and futures trading. Finally, inflationary economic policies — by increasing uncertainty — abet all manner of speculation.

All this constitutes a compelling case for noninflationary economic policies, simpler taxes and regulations. Is this asking too much? Maybe. But then again, if the predator ethic begins to overwhelm the producer ethic, the country is in deep trouble.

National Journal.

## For the Whales, Rise Above Utilitarianism

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — Whales, which have quite enough problems, have now got caught in the angry waters of U.S.-Japanese relations. But those persons who protest on the whales' behalf during last week's U.S. visit by Japan's prime minister have a grand cause.

The campaign to save the whales is a rare and refreshing example of intelligence in the service of something other than self-interest. That is one reason why it has progressed tremendously. Last summer the member nations of the International Whaling Commission, responding primarily to appeals to conscience from groups like Greenpeace and the Animal Welfare Institute, voted 25-7 for a five-year moratorium on commercial whaling, beginning in late 1985. But the three nations that kill 90 percent of the whales — Russia, Norway and Japan — may not comply.

Cheap substitutes now exist for all whale products, and no nation's whaling industry could exist unsubsidized. Japan kills the most whales and buys almost all the oil and meat from other nations' whaling. Japan's compliance with the moratorium probably would end commercial whaling. Whale meat provides less than 1 percent of Japan's protein. Ja-

pan's whaling industry has shrunk from five fleets to one, but several thousand jobs are involved.

The International Whaling Commission is toothless, but U.S. law is not. Nations in defiance of IWC rulings can be denied fishing rights within the U.S. 200-mile (320-kilometer) zone, and imports of their fish can be stopped.

Japan's policy may seem another instance of that nation's blood-mindedness. But the disapproval of Western nations, and especially the United States, strikes Japan as a mortal hypocrisy. In the 1830s and 1840s American whalers depleted stocks in the seas around Japan. Japan notes that Americans only became fastidious about whaling when whale products were no longer needed for lamp oil and margarine.

But this all misses the two main points.

More than 300,000 whales have been killed in the decade since the United Nations called for a moratorium. Every species of whale except the small Minke is endangered. It may be too late to save the magnificent blue whale.

Humanitarian concerns include, but go beyond, the refusal of Japan and others to abandon "cold" harpoons which, lacking explosives, cause a prolonged death agony. Japan opposes explosive harpoons because they damage some of the meat.

Even if the problem of pain could be solved, this problem would remain. There is something unseemly, something subversive of our dignity, about killing such splendid creatures.

As I sit with pen poised over paper, I am struck by the oddness of cataloging reasons for abandoning the killing — the cruel and utterly unnecessary killing — of such mysterious creatures, about which we have so much to learn. It is possible, and not exactly wrong, to give practical reasons why saving the whales will be useful. But there are times, and this is one, for rising above utilitarianism.

The Washington Post.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed to the editor and contain the writer's signature, name and address. Brief letters receive priority, and letters may be abridged. We cannot acknowledge all letters, but we value the views of the readers who submit them.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Huge Is Necessary

Regarding "Of Multinationals And 10-Person Skunk-Works" by Joseph Kraft (HT, Jan. 18): Computer and communications professionals all over the world regard the emergence of IBM and AT&T from the shadow of antitrust actions as considerable triumphs, due in no small part to effective top management.

There have been no IBM "losses." AT&T retains its laboratories, its manufacturing arm, its long lines, deregulated, it can now enter the high-profit world of computers. I would enjoy having Mr. Kraft explain how a 10-person skunk-works would go about designing, building, testing, selling and servicing an Airbus, or even a million video cassette recorders.

Small is indeed often beautiful. But huge is also necessary. The original skunk-works was in fact a small, secret department of huge Lockheed.

H.R.J. GROSCH,  
Rijswijk, Netherlands.

### Before South Africa

Regarding "A Gandhi Landmark in South Africa" (HT, Jan. 15-16):

James F. Smith's article on Gandhi's 21 years in South Africa makes the reader think that Gandhi's struggle for civil rights was against the apartheid of the Afrikaners.

I would like to point out that during most of his years in "South Africa," South Africa as such did not exist, but was four different colonies under the British Crown.

The "Europeans" who mistreated that "most insulting treatment to Indians" were British high commissioners and governors implementing British policy.

It was not until 1910, when the four colonies merged under the Union of South Africa and there was elected all-white Parliament, that Gandhi and his fellow Indians came the victims of apartheid.

Ironically, the Afrikaners themselves were, during this period, fighting for their own survival as a minority group, not only within the British Empire, but within South Africa itself. They were the "poor whites" of the country, many of them illiterate and living below the bread-line, while their language, Afrikaans, was mocked and laughed at.

MARILYN TOMLIN,  
Paris.

FROM OUR JAN. 26 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

**1908: A Smoke in Peace**

NEW YORK — To the list of restaurants in which a woman is permitted to finish in peace the cigarette she has lighted in public has been added the Café des Beaux Arts. Many persons interested in the burning question were much amused by the incident. "The woman called me to the table at which she was sitting," said Mr. Bustanoy, "and asked, 'Do you allow smoking?'" "Personally Madame," said I, "we have no objection." "Then," she said, as she glanced around the restaurant, "who is there to object?" "Smoke if you care to," I answered. "She lighted her cigarette and smoked it to the end, but she was the only woman who ever smoked here."

**1933: La Dietrich in Pants**

PHILADELPHIA — Viewing with alarm what they have hitherto viewed with pleasure, stylists today looked at the legs of Marlene Dietrich as photographed in men's trousers and expressed intense dissatisfaction. Predictions that the fate of pants-wearing by women, started by La Dietrich and other Hollywood luminaries, would soon spread were vigorously denied by John Schlaner, chairman of the style committee of the International Association of Clothing Designers. Committee members told their chairman, "This has got to stop. Do something for God's sake. Something radical." "Well, what do you expect me to do?" asked Schlaner, "wear a skirt?"

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Gén. M



## INSIGHTS

# Bolstered by Budget Increases, Casey's CIA Comes Back Strong From the Lean Years

By Philip Tanenbaum

WASHINGTON — William J. Casey, the director of central intelligence, sat at the end of the mahogany conference table in his office. Outside, the late-afternoon sun played across the trees that ring the Central Intelligence Agency's headquarters in northern Virginia, filling the windows with a fresco of autumn colors. A short stack of documents, some stamped SECRET, rested at Mr. Casey's left elbow, and a yellow legal pad on which he had pencilled several notes was positioned to his right.

"The reason I am here is because I have a lot of relevant experience and a good track record," Mr. Casey said, alluding to comments that he was unqualified for the job and had been appointed only because he was Ronald Reagan's campaign manager. Mr. Casey, an imperious and proud man, had been running over the campaign for months, according to his friends, and now, in his first comprehensive interview since taking office, he wanted to set the record straight.

He flipped through the papers and extracted a yellowed clipping from The New York Times that extolled his record as a chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission from 1971 to 1973. Next, he provided several pages copied from a book about Allied intelligence operations during World War II; he had undertaken a glowing assessment of his contribution to the Office of Strategic Services. The final clipping was a story that appeared in The Washington Star in the summer of 1980, describing Mr. Casey's role as Reagan campaign director. The headline: "Casey, the Take-Charge Boss."

It was an oddly defensive performance for a man who, according to classified budget figures provided by government officials, is overseeing the biggest peacetime buildup in the U.S. intelligence community since the early 1950s.

Because intelligence expenditures are secret, it is not widely known that at a moment when the Reagan administration is forcing most government agencies to retrench, the CIA and its fellow intelligence organizations are enjoying boom times. Even the military services, which have been favored with substantial budget increases, lag well behind in terms of percentage growth, although military-run intelligence agencies are growing almost as quickly as the CIA.

## Expenditures Hidden

Spending figures for intelligence agencies, including the CIA, are hidden within the Defense Department's budget. With a budget increase for the 1983 fiscal year of 25 percent, not allowing for inflation, compared with 13 percent for the Defense Department, the CIA is the fastest growing major agency in the federal government, according to administration budget officials.

On its own terms, the CIA is indisputably on the rebound. The staff has increased and morale has improved. A quarter of a million Americans, many of whom saw the CIA's sophisticated ("We May Have a Career for You") recruiting ads in newspapers and magazines, got in touch with the agency about jobs last year. Ten thousand, most in their late 20s with college degrees and experience in fields that involve foreign affairs, submitted formal applications and 1,500 were hired. The CIA's work force, another figure the agency has kept secret, now tops 16,000, according to intelligence officials, and is growing.

An increased number of intelligence estimates and analytical reports are flowing to policy-makers, and they appear to be better timed to coincide with policy debates. Overseas operations have expanded, including covert actions intended to influence events in other countries, and President Reagan has given the agency authority to conduct operations in the United States.

As part of a concerted effort to enlarge its focus of interest beyond the Soviet Union and other traditional intelligence targets, the agency is devoting new resources to the study of issues long neglected or ignored, including economic and social developments in specific regions around the world.

But the CIA is trying to overcome a legacy of troubles and combat a corrosive undercurrent of doubt about its intentions, integrity and capabilities. Just as Mr. Casey has found it hard to shake his image as a high-rolling financier and political operative, the CIA has found it difficult to shed the reputation it gained in the mid-1970s as a rogue agency guilty of abuses of power.

Some developments in the past two years have not helped. Although the agency maintains that its covert operations are limited and carefully controlled, some U.S. and Honduran national security officials say that the activities in Central America amount to a secret campaign to overthrow the leftist government in Nicaragua, an objective that goes beyond plans approved by the White House and clashes with the declared policy of the government.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz and other top officials have said that the United States hopes to resolve the regional problems through negotiations.

## Activities Inside U.S.

Many career State Department officials believe that Mr. Casey and company, eager to support some of the administration's tough rhetoric about the Soviet Union, have twisted intelligence estimates to accommodate policy positions. The new authority to conduct domestic covert operations, though presented by the administration as no threat to civil liberties, opens the door to intrusive intelligence activities in the United States.

To dispel some of the distrust, and to display what they view as important accomplishments, Mr. Casey and his aides have launched something of a public relations offensive in recent months. Journalists who were turned away during the first 18 months of the Reagan administration, have been granted access to Mr. Casey and some senior officials. He gave his first extended interview to The Times for this article. Mr. Casey, with one exception, declined to discuss personnel or budget matters.

While it has been popular to attribute the CIA's problems to the hostility produced in the mid-1970s by disclosures of past abuses and the internal upheavals that followed, the CIA was headed downhill long before the first stories were published about assassination plots and domestic spying activities.

After a period of rapid and sustained growth in the 1950s that was tied to the tensions of the Cold War, the CIA began to feel budget pressures in the mid-1960s as Johnson administration officials turned a critical eye on the cost-effectiveness of agency spending. At the same time, the demands of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia acted as a centrifugal force on

agency resources, pulling more and more of the agency's budget and work force into secret military and intelligence operations in Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia.

Meanwhile, vast sums of money were invested in the technology of intelligence, including photo-reconnaissance satellites, communications-intercept stations, computers and other hardware. As a result, the human intelligence-gathering system was allowed to decay. Finally, there were the revelations about dirty tricks, assassination plots, drug experiments with unwitting human subjects, surveillance of American citizens and the long string of other abuses.

## Reduction in Funding

The cutbacks were greater than generally recognized. During the 1970s, according to Mr. Casey, there was a 40-percent reduction in funding for intelligence agencies and a 50-percent cut in the work force. In covert operations, where some of the worst abuses had occurred, the contraction was startling. Classified figures made available by former intelligence officials show that the number of agents and staff devoted to these activities, which primarily involve paramilitary and political-action efforts to influence events abroad, dropped from more than 2,000 in the mid-1960s to less than 200 by the end of the Carter administration.

The numbers alone, though dramatic, do not capture the turmoil and shuddering morale that accompanied the CIA's declining fortunes. The image of the CIA as an elite service, cultivated by the agency for decades and embraced by its employees, eroded. Hundreds of veteran analysts and agents retired early. Directors were fired and fired like baseball managers, with five different men heading the agency between 1973 and 1977. In addition, almost an entire generation of college students, disillusioned by the Vietnam War and the behavior of the CIA, considered employment at the agency a stigma, depriving it of fresh talent and energy.

Stanfield Turner, the director of central intelligence in the Carter administration, aggravated the morale problem when he ordered a massive housecleaning in 1977 and 1978. Mr. Turner, claiming that reports about the changes were exaggerated, says he reduced the staff by 820 positions, but actually fired only 17 persons. He says the rest were removed through attrition and that morale improved as a result.

The upheaval may have been a necessary though painful way of laying the groundwork for a revitalized CIA, but the impact of all this on the agency's operations was tangible. In the all-important area of analysis, the point at which trends and insights are pulled out of the mountains of raw intelligence information and translated into reports for policy-makers, productivity slumped sharply.

National estimates, the intelligence community's final word on important international issues, dropped from an annual average of 51 in the late 1960s to 12 a year in the late 1970s.

Soon after moving into the director's office, Mr. Casey made his agenda clear: more money, more manpower and more aggressiveness. With the help of Admiral Bobby R. Inman, Mr. Casey's top deputy until last June and a veteran of the budget wars, the new director quickly got White House and congressional approval for large spending increases, pushing the agency's budget toward \$1.5 billion. The current total exceeds that sum, according to congressional sources. Long-range planning calls for the CIA to receive large annual increases through the 1980s.

## Inman Calls Him 'Dynamo'

With more money guaranteed, Mr. Casey turned his attention to the agency's actual operations. "There's an image of Bill Casey as a tired, doddering, old man who's primarily interested in spying on American citizens," Admiral Inman told a group of retired agents earlier this year. "The image could not be further from the dynamo that I worked with."

Mr. Casey, 69, is described by friends as being a "voracious reader" and an amateur historian. He has written several books about the American Revolution. His office desk is cluttered with stacks of recent volumes, and aides report that he often starts intelligence analysts by citing information from obscure books that they have not read.

Mr. Casey has not run the CIA by trying to forge a consensus about goals. Nor has he cared much for the trappings of leadership, such as ribbon cuttings, pep talks to the staff and public pronouncements. He prefers to exercise authority directly, succinctly and gruffly.

According to aides, Mr. Casey addresses problems by consulting individually with close associates in the CIA and a handful of outside friends. He makes decisions quickly—even his critics concede that he has a sharp, penetrating mind—and most often relays them to the staff in terse instructions he dictates early in the morning. His temper and patience are notoriously short and his gruff, no-nonsense style of ten lapses into plain rudeness that is a public relations man's nightmare.

While Mr. Casey has undeniably gotten the CIA moving, there is some question whether all the motion has been positive. From the moment he was appointed, there have been questions whether he is the right man to rebuild the CIA. A lawyer by training, Mr. Casey is a self-made millionaire from New York who served during the Nixon and Ford administrations as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, undersecretary of state for economic affairs and head of the Export-Import Bank.

## Directed Allied Operations

He received his initiation in spying during World War II, when he directed Allied espionage operations behind German lines. Later, while practicing law in Manhattan, he served as a member of President Gerald R. Ford's advisory board on intelligence.

But Mr. Casey is also the first presidential campaign director appointed to run the CIA. By picking him, Mr. Reagan seemed to suggest that the directorship of central intelligence was just one more patronage plum. The appointment immediately generated fears that the CIA would be used to justify and support the administration's foreign policies rather than serve as a source of neutral information.

Mr. Casey, undeniably, is a political animal. In 1966, he ran unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination for Congress in Nassau County, New York. Through dropping out of front-line campaigning after the loss, he remained very active as a Republican Party fund-raiser and behind-the-scenes broker.

Professional intelligence officials fear nothing more than contamination by political interests. According to Admiral Inman, who was director of the National Security Agency from 1977 to 1981, the key is finding balance between access to policy-makers and accommodation to policy. Mr. Casey's record on this crucial issue is mixed. The great majority of intelligence re-

ports produced in the past two years have been tainted by ideological prejudices, according to a wide spectrum of national security officials, many of whom are not Casey boosters. In some areas, however, where the political heat is particularly high, the agency has adopted a more partisan tone. Central America is cited most often as an area where the CIA has stretched to support White House policy. Mr. Casey strenuously denies that the agency has twisted intelligence in support policy.

The production of intelligence reports, at least in theory is the most important function of the CIA. Of the four main divisions of the agency, known internally as directorates, intelligence is the most important because it is, in effect, the link between the agency and the policy-making process. The three other divisions are science and technology, handling everything from the processing of data on Soviet missile tests to the research and design of new surveillance satellites; support, which deals with logistics, communications and security; and operations, which directs clandestine intelligence collection abroad and conducts covert activities.

Mr. Casey has made significant, unpublished changes in the intelligence division, which is staffed with thousands of analysts, who examine data on matters as important as Soviet military capabilities and as esoteric as steel production in Bulgaria.

Historically, the performance of the intelligence branch has been varied. Repeated predictions that the Soviet Union would become a net importer of oil in the early 1980s proved incorrect. These forecasts contributed significantly to fears in the Carter administration that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan presaged an eventual move into the Gulf. The agency also failed to anticipate the groundswell of opposition to the Shah of Iran that led to his overthrow in 1979.

But throughout the Vietnam War, the CIA bucked the optimistic assessments of the Pentagon and accurately gauged the strength and tenacity of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. More recently, analysts reported that trade sanctions against the Soviet Union would not seriously impede the construction of a gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe. Mr. Reagan recently canceled the pipeline sanctions he had imposed.

Mr. Casey's first move was to reorganize the operation. Instead of a system where subjects were divided by discipline, with experts on the Soviet economy, for instance, separated from experts on Soviet politics, he restructured the operation along geographical lines, putting together all the specialists on a given country or region.

In addition, he tried to increase communication with policy-makers, seeking critical feedback on intelligence estimates. Every night, the CIA prepares an intelligence report for distribution to senior administration officials the next morning. Called the president's daily briefing, it covers overnight developments around the world and reports on important trends.

Instead of turning the briefing over to the White House aides to deliver and discuss with senior officials, Mr. Casey arranged for top-level CIA analysts to conduct the briefings and report back to him every morning at 11 about their comments and questions.

## Weekly 'Watch' Meeting

To improve longer-range management of intelligence, Mr. Casey established a weekly "watch" meeting of top officials from the CIA, National Security Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency and other segments of the intelligence community. In previous years, such meetings were held monthly. Mr. Casey also approved the creation of two new study centers, one to track the flow of advanced American technology abroad and the other to examine the causes of instability around the world and to identify countries that appear vulnerable to insurgent movements.

"The idea is to assess threats against other governments, particularly those of close or special strategic interest to us," Mr. Casey said. "The Soviet Union has been extraordinarily successful in extending its influence worldwide by destabilizing established governments and installing and supporting new ones which follow its line. In recent years we have seen some

10 countries taken into the communist sphere in this way which are now being used in efforts to take over another 10 or so in much the same way. This is a process we work hard to spot and measure and help friendly governments avoid."

Other intelligence officials said that countries on the agency's danger list include Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Zaire and Sudan.

He also encouraged the intelligence division to renew the CIA's dormant relationship with the academic community in hopes of injecting new ideas into the intelligence system.

Unquestionably, productivity has increased. The number of national estimates, for instance, has risen from the late 1970s average of 12 a year to 38 in 1981. According to Mr. Casey, the number will exceed 60 this year.

Donald Gregg, senior national security adviser to Vice President George Bush and a former agency official, believes there has been an overall improvement in quality and timeliness.

Despite the general praise for the agency's performance, the CIA under William Casey has shown a disturbing tendency on some issues to rally to the administration's rhetoric.

State Department and congressional critics have accused the agency of warping its analysis to accommodate policy about Central America. Last September, the House Intelligence Committee published a report about intelligence on Central America that, while praising the overall quality, found numerous instances of oversimplification and exaggeration. In a briefing on outside interference in Central America given to the committee in March, for instance, intelligence officials stated that "lots of ships have been traced" from the Soviet Union to Nicaragua. When asked how many ships, the CIA later responded that there had been only "a few."

In general, Mr. Casey insisted, the CIA has not slanted intelligence reports on Central America.

## Selective Use of Information

A related issue is the sometimes aggressive way the Reagan administration has used intelligence information to justify its policies. Though the practice is hardly a new one in Washington, one intelligence official said this administration has turned more often than most to what he called "a highly selective use of information favorable to the government's position."

The political edge that has slipped into some of the intelligence reporting is much more evident—and troubling—in operations, the area where Mr. Casey has made the agency more assertive.

Despite his active involvement in the analytical side, Mr. Casey's primary interest—some colleagues say his "passion"—has been operations. From the start he took personal command of the clandestine services, adding staff members and resources, and has worked to rebuild the covert operations staff, euphemistically known within the CIA as the international affairs division.

The changes started with the presidential executive order that governs intelligence activities. The National Security Act of 1947, which created the CIA, defined its powers and duties only in broad terms and offered few specific guidelines for CIA activities. It did not, for example, include explicit authority to conduct covert activities. In subsequent years, presidents filled the vacuum to some extent with a series of directives that authorized the CIA to conduct paramilitary and political-action operations. But neither the executive branch nor Congress ever got around to establishing a comprehensive charter for the agency.

In the absence of such a charter, the executive order is the only source of guidelines for intelligence operations here and abroad. The first order was adopted by President Ford after revelations about intelligence excesses. The Ford order, and a subsequent one signed by President Jimmy Carter, set strict limits on CIA operations, prohibiting assassinations and other extreme measures abroad. The orders also ruled out agency operations within the United States to prevent any recurrence of domestic spying abuses.

Mr. Casey and Admiral Inman, while preferring to keep some restraints that the White House wanted removed, accepted an order that removed several key restrictions. Officials of the



William J. Casey, the 69-year-old director of central intelligence.

American Civil Liberties Union call it "a grave threat to civil liberties."

The most debated—and debatable—change contained in the Reagan order is approval for CIA operations in the United States, if the focus of such activity is the collection of significant foreign intelligence information.

One of the few specific prohibitions included in the 1947 National Security Act was the stipulation that the CIA "shall have no police, subpoena, law enforcement powers or internal security functions." In addition, the legislative history of the act made clear that Congress wanted the agency's activities, apart from headquarters operations, to be confined outside the United States.

Despite the ban, the CIA conducted extensive domestic spying during the 1960s and early 1970s. Admiral Inman and Mr. Casey both said that the Reagan order does not envisage a revival of such abuses. As an example of what would be permitted under the Reagan order, Admiral Inman said, intelligence agents could interview Americans about their foreign travels without identifying themselves as CIA operatives.

Officials of the American Civil Liberties Union charge that it opens the door to all kinds of domestic operations, provided they are conducted under the pretext of gathering foreign intelligence information.

The aggressive tone of the new order set the stage for Mr. Casey's buildup in covert operations, perhaps the most questionable development during his two years at the CIA. He has made clear that the Reagan administration is not afraid to use covert operations, including paramilitary force, to help further American interests abroad. Mr. Casey calls covert actions "special activities." Like so much of the vocabulary used at the CIA—"neutralization" instead of assassination in Vietnam, for example—the phrase removes the sting from a controversial concept.

Covert action can cover a lot of ground. Over the years, it has involved financial assistance to friendly political parties in Europe, clandestine shipments of military equipment to anti-Soviet insurgents in Afghanistan and the training of specialized security forces for a select group of foreign leaders, including the late president of Egypt, Anwar Sadat. The assassination of Mr. Sadat was a particular embarrassment to the CIA because the agency secretly trained the personal security guards who ran for cover when he was attacked.

The Reagan administration considers covert operations a routine instrument of foreign policy.

"Through all the investigations and examina-

tions of covert activities," Mr. Casey said, "very few people came away with the conclusion that the nation should deprive itself of the ability to move quietly in private channels to react to or influence the policies of other countries."

Mr. Casey sees the equation as follows: "To be, or to be perceived as, unable or unwilling to act in support of friendly governments facing destabilization or insurgency from aggressor nations, or to prevent groups acting or standing for American interests or values from being snuffed out, would be damaging to our security and leadership."

## Supporting Governments

In practice, according to Mr. Casey, that means a series of "low-key, low-level" efforts, involving a "small number of people," which are "in support of other governments, closer to the area of operation and with a bigger stake in it and ready to take the main responsibility." This means, he said emphatically, avoiding anything like the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. What it does cover, according to Mr. Casey, are efforts to provide countries threatened by externally supported guerrilla forces with equipment and training to "help them defend themselves."

Mr. Casey's enthusiasm for covert operations—he has traveled extensively around the world, to take a firsthand look at current efforts—has cost him dearly in several areas.

One was the loss of Admiral Inman, who was widely respected in the intelligence community and in Congress. Although Admiral Inman publicly attributed his resignation to a longstanding desire to work in the private sector, there were other reasons as well, according to his friends, including alarm over the heavy use of covert operations. During high-level strategy sessions, according to national security officials, Admiral Inman repeatedly warned that covert activities, particularly the use of paramilitary forces, could associate the CIA with groups that it could not control.

Although the concept of congressional oversight does not appeal to everyone in the intelligence business, both the Senate and House intelligence committees provide a vital form of public accountability for the CIA and its fellow agencies. The committees, in a way, are a symbol of public trust in the CIA.

On most issues, the committees have supported Mr. Casey's effort to strengthen the agency. But they worry about the signs of political contamination and have great misgivings about the expanded use of covert operations. Until Mr. Casey gains their trust on these crucial issues, he will have a hard time gaining the confidence of the public.

# New Focus on Hitler, Nazism in West Germany

## Nation Plumbs Past for Lessons on 50th Anniversary of Dictator's Accession to Power

By Harry Trimborn

Los Angeles Times Service

BONN — On the evening of Jan. 30, 1933, a 44-year-old man with a toothbrush mustache and a lot of dark hair brushing one eye stood on a Berlin balcony acknowledging the cheers of his followers. He had just become chancellor of Germany.

The man's name was Adolf Hitler. A frustrated artist, an army corporal in World War I, he was now the leader of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, known as the Nazi Party.

Hitler's accession to power was the result of a back-room political deal that had been reluctantly approved by the president of the republic, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg. Hindenburg had hoped Hitler could bring stability to a nation wracked by the consequences of its military defeat—runaway inflation, food shortages, political murders, fighting in the streets, and a series of crisis-ridden, ineffectual governments.

Instead, the appointment ushered in 12 years of Nazi rule, which brought devastation to Europe and much of the rest of the world, along with the deaths of perhaps 50 million people, about 13 million of them in Nazi concentration camps.

## 50th Anniversary

As part of the 50th anniversary of his rise to power, stark black-and-white photographs of Hitler on that Berlin balcony are being printed in newspapers and magazines throughout West Germany. The event has brought out more reminders of the Nazi era than have been seen in the country since 1945, when Hitler committed suicide in his Berlin bunker and Germany surrendered to end World War II in Europe.

The present focus on Hitler's accession to power has also raised concern that West Germany may be indulging in a morbid sort of curiosity that could undermine the reasons for examining the anniversary, meant to be instructive. The daily Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, for example, has warned that Hitler could be turned into a larger-than-life, legendary figure that would fascinate future generations.

"I think the whole effort is being overdone," a West German journalist said. Another jour-

nal said: "This is a no-win situation for us. If we ignore the anniversary, we will be accused of covering up the Nazi era. If we publicize it, we will be accused of glorifying it."

Much of the newspaper and magazine coverage deals with the Nazi persecution of the Jews, and it dramatizes a question that has burned into the German conscience: How could a civilized society have allowed such things to happen?

That question was addressed in a letter that the minister of culture for the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, Jürgen Griensolm, sent recently to 150,000 schoolteachers setting out guidelines for observing the anniversary in their classrooms. "Teaching," Mr. Griensolm said, "should not only arouse a fear of the Nazi tyranny but also explain how and why National Socialism could be attractive for people."

The anniversary has become the focus of scores of television documentaries and dramatizations, stage plays, museum exhibits and other displays dealing with the era. It is also the subject of books, panel discussions, forums, lectures and private conversations. The aim is to dramatize the evil consequences of Hitler's becoming chancellor, an office he used to create an absolute dictatorship.

The anniversary is being used to warn of the dangers that can befall a democracy that fails to protect its institutions. And it comes at a time of growing economic and political problems that some commentators compare to those that prevailed under the Weimar Republic, Germany's venture into democracy during the 1920s. But conditions are much less serious now than they were then. West Germany is one of the richest, most stable countries in the world, and its democratic institutions are more firmly rooted than those of the Weimar Republic. Its constitution contains safeguards designed to prevent the sort of political instability that followed World War I.

Yet the anniversary comes at a time of rising unemployment and increasing bankruptcies, together with a bitter parliamentary election campaign that could result in a realignment of the country's political forces.

Some commentators have expressed fear that West Germany could become ungovernable if neither of the major political parties—the conservative Christian Democrats and the opposi-

tion Social Democrats—wins a majority in the election scheduled for March 6.

The fear is based on the possibility that the anti-establishment Greens will hold the balance of power in the parliament and try to put into effect its program for radically restructuring the national economy.

There is also fear—and controversy—as a result of the Western alliance's plan to deploy a new generation of nuclear missiles in West Germany and other countries in Western Europe. Some commentators, mindful of the Nazi tactic of making Jews the scapegoat for the country's problems, have expressed concern about the increasing resentment of foreigners in West Germany, especially the so-called guest workers—laborers from southern Europe.

West German television, which is publicly operated, has programmed 17 major productions dealing with the Nazi era. Some have already been broadcast and others will be shown later in the year.

## 'Europe Under Swastika'

Currently on television is a documentary series called "Europe Under the Swastika." The final episode, "The Conquest of Berlin," will be shown Sunday, the anniversary of Hitler's accession. Another documentary, which has already been broadcast, dealt with the rise of neo-Nazis in West Germany.

According to that documentary, about 20,000 people, most of them 15 to 25 years old, are involved in neo-Nazi groups.

One of the many stage plays dealing with the Nazi era is "Brother Eichmann," which was first performed in Munich on Friday. The play is based on the tapes of the Israeli interrogation of Adolf Eichmann, the former Nazi official who in 1960 was seized by Israeli agents in Argentina, tried in Israel for his part in the Nazi effort to kill European Jews, and executed.

The play depicts Eichmann as an ordinary citizen who through blind obedience to his superiors became an enthusiastic official in the mass-murder plan. This is also the theme of a new book, "The Eichmann Trial," by Jochen von Lang, which is also based on the interrogations.

The weekly newsmagazine Der Spiegel has been publishing a series entitled "Waiting for Hitler, Germany's Road to Dictatorship."

The popular magazine Stern published excerpts from the childhood diary of Gudrun Himmler, the daughter of Heinrich Himmler, who was head of the Gestapo.

Stern published extracts from the diary together with selections from a Nazi-era journal, the diary of Anne Frank. Anne, who was Jewish and the same age as Gudrun, kept her diary while hiding from Nazi occupation authorities in Amsterdam.

Among the many exhibitions on the Nazi period is one in West Berlin called "1933—The Way to Dictatorship." It presents Nazi propaganda material, documents and photographs alongside pictures of concentration camps and their victims.

There is also material relating to the use of wartime slave labor by such industrial firms as AEG and Siemens, which are still Berlin's principal employers.

A traveling exhibition of religious articles from the Jewish Museum in New York has been sent to West Germany for display in three state museums. Called "Danzig 1939, Treasures From a Destroyed Community," the collection is from the great synagogue in Danzig, now known as Gdansk in Poland, which was destroyed by the Nazis.

Many cities have exhibitions showing how they fared under the Nazis. Wuppertal and Cologne, for example, are exhibiting copies of books the Nazis banned or burned.



Adolf Hitler











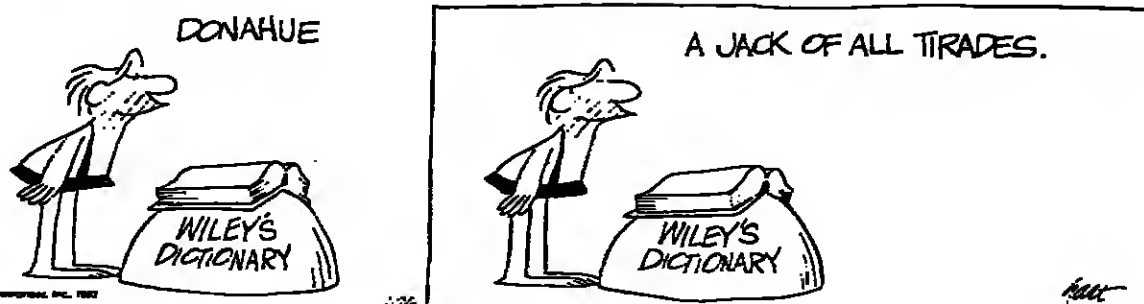








## BOOKS



ner's hand. The declarer now had visions of making 12 tricks, and without giving his play sufficient thought he cashed the K-Q-A of trumps in that order.

South now began clubs, and East noted that his partner played high low to indicate an even number of cards. Visualizing the possibility that South held a six-card suit, East carefully waited until the fourth round of clubs to ruff. Then he played a diamond and South was helpless. His own hand was now useless, and he had to ruff in dummy and lose three spade tricks for down one.

There were two ways for South to survive. If he had started with the A-K of hearts, leaving the

**NORTH**  
 ♠ J 8 7  
 ♥ A 7 5 3  
 ♦ 4  
 ♣ S 10 7 6 4

**WEST**  
 ♠ A 10 9 3 2  
 ♥ J 3  
 ♦ Q 10 8 6 2  
 ♣ 8 5 2

**EAST**  
 ♠ K 8 5  
 ♥ 10 9 4 2  
 ♦ K 9 8 3

**SOUTH (D)**  
 ♠ Q 7  
 ♥ K 9 6  
 ♦ A 7  
 ♣ A K Q J 9 8

Both sides were vulnerable. The bid-  
 ding:

South	West	North	East
1♣	1♥	2♣	2♥
4♥	Pass	Pass	Pass

West led the diamond 4.

ADVERTISEMENT	
INTERNATIONAL FUNDS	
January 26, 1983	
<p>The net asset value quotations shown below are based on the Funds listed with the exception of some funds whose values are computed on issue prices. The following information is provided to indicate how the values are computed for each fund: (M) = monthly; (Q) = quarterly; (A) = annually; (S) = semi-annually; (B) = bi-monthly; (T) = regular; (I) = irregular.</p>	
<p><b>AL-MANAGEMENT CO. S.A.</b> — Int'l Al Man Trust ..... \$F 71.81</p>	
<p><b>BANK JULIUS BAER &amp; CO. LIM</b> — Int'l Eurobond ..... \$F 185.35 — Int'l Corporate ..... \$F 80.00 — Int'l Eurobond ..... \$F 102.54 — Int'l Stockbond ..... \$F 109.00</p>	
<p><b>BANK OF ERNST &amp; CO. ACP</b> ..... \$28.88 — Int'l Corporate Fund ..... \$F 3.57 — Int'l Corporate Fund ..... \$F 3.57 — Int'l Corporate Fund ..... \$F 3.57 — Int'l Corporate Fund ..... \$F 3.57</p>	
<p><b>BRITANNIA, PDS 271, St. Helier</b> ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Dollar Income ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Eurobond ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Eurobond ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Eurobond ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Eurobond ..... \$1.25</p>	
<p><b>CAPITAL INTERNATIONAL</b> — Int'l Capital Int'l Fund ..... \$2.30 — Int'l Capital Int'l Fund ..... \$2.30 — Int'l Capital Int'l Fund ..... \$2.30 — Int'l Capital Int'l Fund ..... \$2.30</p>	
<p><b>CFEYD SUISSE (ISSUE PRICE)</b> — Int'l Actions Suisse ..... \$F 19.40 — Int'l Actions Suisse ..... \$F 19.40 — Int'l Actions Suisse ..... \$F 19.40 — Int'l Actions Suisse ..... \$F 19.40</p>	
<p><b>DIT INVESTMENT FFA</b> ..... \$2.12 — Int'l Int'l Retention ..... \$2.12 — Int'l Int'l Retention ..... \$2.12 — Int'l Int'l Retention ..... \$2.12 — Int'l Int'l Retention ..... \$2.12</p>	
<p><b>FIDELITY FUND</b> ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	
<p><b>G.T. INVESTMENT FUND</b> ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	
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<p><b>JARDINE FLEMING PDS RGP</b> ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	
<p><b>LOYDS BANK INT. PDS</b> ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	
<p><b>MERCHANT BANK &amp; TRUST CO. LTD.</b> — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	
<p><b>PAPISAS - GROUP</b> — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	
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<p><b>SOFID PDS</b> ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	
<p><b>SWISS AMERICAN</b> ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	
<p><b>UNION BANK OF SWITZERLAND</b> — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	
<p><b>UNION INVESTMENT FUND</b> ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l Int'l Income Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	
<p><b>Other Funds</b> — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25 — Int'l American Fund ..... \$1.25</p>	

[illegible]

"MOM HASN'T GOTTEN OVER GETTING OVER WHAT I DID YESTERDAY!"

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**EAST**  
 ♠ K 8 5  
 ♥ 9 8 4 2  
 ♦ K 9 8 3  
 ♣ J 8 5 3

**SOUTH (D)**  
 ♠ Q 7  
 ♥ K 9 6  
 ♦ A 7  
 ♣ A K Q J 9 8

Both sides were vulnerable. The bid-  
 ding:

South	West	North	East
1♣	1♥	2♣	2♥
4♥	Pass	Pass	Pass

West led the diamond ♠



## SPORTS

## Miler Coghlan's Back in the Running

By Peter Albano  
New York Times Service

RYE, N.Y. — To his neighbors in this suburban community, Eamonn Coghlan is just another jogger, emerging from his front door every morning dressed in cheerfully colored synthetic warm-ups and matching ski cap. As he charges into a winter wind, most of them see him through bleary eyes and icy windshields and wonder why joggers wouldn't rather spend this time snug in bed.

But the cold weather and slushy remains of a recent snowfall are minor inconveniences now, Coghlan says. To be able to hurry past the surroundings again at a pace faster than a brisk walk represents a milestone. It has been quite a while since he has felt so exhilarated.

It is a feeling Coghlan said had been faded by 16 years on the road. He has been in training from the time he was a 12-year-old apprentice runner in Dublin. Running has been as much a part of his daily routine as brushing his teeth and combing his hair. Of ten it was a chore.

But there were rewards. The roadwork had helped refine Coghlan's skills and he became the best indoor miler in the world. He ran the fastest indoor mile ever on Feb. 20, 1980, when he was timed in 3 minutes 50.6 seconds in a meet at the San Diego Sports Arena. He had won the Wausau Mile at the Milwaukee Games in Madison Square Garden four times in four attempts.

He wasn't back in the pack outdoors either, having defeated the likes of Steve Scott and John Walker. The outdoor record of 3:47.33 is held by Sebastian Coe of Britain. But in 1982 Coghlan's name disappeared from the results of track meets as if a magician had waved a wand across a copy of Track & Field News. Poor — Coghlan was gone. The Irishman with the boyish smile

had been run off the road by injuries. "If there is a year I could eliminate from my life," Coghlan says, "it would be 1982."

His troubles began last Jan. 15, when he suffered a stress fracture of the right shin. A month later — on the day he had planned to try to win the Wausau Mile for the fifth time — Coghlan received permission from his physician to rest the leg. His shin had healed.

But with the first step he took, there was a new discomfort, this time in his right foot. He had aggravated a chronic Achilles' tendon injury, and although initially he tried to run through the pain, Coghlan soon understood the injury was serious. It would be six months and many doubts later before he would be able to jog again.

"I was going crazy at first, not being able to run," Coghlan said recently. "I was still inclined to have a few beers every day, and I gained 15 pounds. I felt like such a slob. My pants were so tight that when I drove the car, I had to loosen the top button of my jeans." Coghlan stands 5 feet 10 inches, and his running weight is 140 pounds.

If he finds the recollections amusing and can see the benefits of having spent a year away from racing, it is with the comforting knowledge that all is well again. On Friday night, with his comeback still in the early stages, he will run in the Wausau Mile, hoping to use the Milwaukee Games to demonstrate that he remains the chairman of the boards.

It will be Coghlan's third indoor mile since he resumed racing earlier this month. He won in Ottawa on Jan. 14, against what he said was a weak field, in 4:04. In Los Angeles last Friday he won again, in 3:55.4. Previously, he had entered and won road races to test the sore tendon and determine the effects of the layoff.

Of his Los Angeles performance, he said: "When I saw the time, I was very satisfied. I

knew I was back. The strength was really there."

Ottawa and Los Angeles rekindled a special feeling he has for indoor racing. The laps are shorter and the runs tighter and more deeply banked than outdoors; there is a slingshot effect coming out of those turns that Coghlan says gives him a vicarious thrill and more speed.

A year's absence, however, also has given Coghlan renewed incentive for outdoor competition. "I'd like to get my mile time outdoors down to about 3:48," he said. Only Coe and Scott have run faster than 3:48.

In preparation for the 1984 Olympics, Coghlan, his wife Yvonne and their two children have rented a house in Rye since May 1981. Because of a busy travel schedule, which included periodic visits home, he has been a stranger in the community.

Coghlan has enjoyed the anonymity — he is besieged everywhere he goes in Ireland. But his frustration during the first half of 1982, when he was receiving treatment for his tendon, was compounded by sadness at the death of Gerry Farneon, the man who had been his track coach since childhood.

Last August, Coghlan went to a clinic in West Germany, where doctors used radiation treatment on his tendon. There were immediate results, he says. The pain gradually lessened, then disappeared. In mid-September, two months before his 30th birthday, the slightly chubby athlete took to the streets, huffing and puffing a bit at first, but soon increasing his distances from 70 to 80 and 90 miles a week.

"The first week, it felt like I had never run before," he said. "But I've been in vigorous training since I was 12, so in this case I think I gained by the layoff. I've really never felt better."

"People have made me defensive about my age, though. But I think that it's a myth about being over the hill at 30. Nowadays, runners can concentrate on doing it full time. Years ago, they had to quit in their 20s to go to work and rear a family. If you look at John Walker and Frank Shorter and Bill Rodgers, they're still competing and doing well. And they're all over 30."

Farneon brought Coghlan along as a club runner in Ireland, and when Coghlan was in high school, American colleges began to take notice. Villanova, which hired runner Delany had started and Coach Jumbo Elliott had made the university renowned for its track program, offered him a scholarship only one week before he had to begin his freshman year.

Despite his prominence in the mile, Coghlan actually uses it as a training run for the longer 5,000-meter race. He says that 5,000 is his natural distance and that Elliott had converted him to a miler at Villanova to help him build strength and speed for the longer races.

Running for Ireland, Coghlan finished fourth in the 5,000-meter race in Moscow



Eamonn Coghlan, reacting when his indoor mile world-record time of 3:50.6 was flashed on the scoreboard in San Diego Feb. 20, 1980.

during the 1980 Olympics. "It's the only time I've ever been beaten at that distance," he said. Part of his disappointment: Ireland has not won an Olympic gold in track since Delany won the 1,500 meters in 1956 (in 1976 in Montreal, Coghlan finished fourth in the 1,500).

In preparation for 1984, Coghlan will mix a few 5,000-meter races with his miles. On Feb. 4, in a meet in Toronto, he will skip the mile to challenge Alberto Salazar in the 5,000.

"There still will be a lot of mile races around for me to build my leg strength and speed," Coghlan said. He added: "That's what hurt most about not being able to run," he added. "Seeing someone break your record and not being able to do anything about it. Now, I can't prevent someone from breaking it, but if he does, I can see that he still finishes second."

## Some Fine Italian Handiwork

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — The Italian influence, its aroma of corruption and conspiracy never completely stifled, is bound to pervade soccer now that Rome has custody of the World Cup.

How can we avoid looking inside the champion's household? How could we ignore the implications of a nation using the ultimate (and, to reiterate, deserved) victory as an excuse to pardon culpability of the 1979 betting scandal? And how dare we forget that the system that rules on the field — and influences the game's laws off it — was less than two years ago caught debasing the ethics of child's play by entering an average player under a false name in an international tournament for 14-year-olds?

Clearly the burden of being soccer's world champion demands that Italy apply more scrupulous morals than ever before. And that the rest of us maintain a vigilant eye on what may previously have passed as the country's domestic affairs.

What catches the eye right now are a couple of — well, intriguing Italian appointments.

One involved a referee, Paolo Casarin, who had been named as the official in charge of Wednesday's prestigious European Super-cup contest in England between Aston Villa and Barcelona. Contrived and hollow the tournament may be, but given the unbridled violence of recent Spanish/English club matches, given Barcelona's ferocious hunger for any title and given its slender 1-0 home-leg advantage, the return leg may well demand brave, decisive and demonstrably impartial handling.

Fluent in both English and Spanish, Signore Casarin had a head start. He had also had first-hand World Cup experience of Spain's intimidatory tactics, having booked two Spaniards (and one German) in a quarterfinal match and also having booked two men and sent off a third for fouls in the France-Czechoslovakia encounter. The worst of his critics observed merely that, early on, Casarin was an economist whose use of the red and yellow cards was somewhat too economical.

So, at 42, he seemed a reasonable choice for the Super-cup. Seemed, past tense — for at well past the 11th hour, Casarin has been removed from the match, his place taken by the non-Spanish speaking Belgian Alexis Ponnet. Why?

Thereby hangs a singularly Italian tale.

Casarin had originally been chosen for Wednesday's final despite being indefinitely suspended by his own referees' federation in Italy pending an inquiry into a newspaper interview in which he reportedly implied malfeasance to some of his colleagues.

"I wouldn't put my hand in the fire for all referees," he was quoted as saying. "One or two might well allow themselves to be bought." And, deploring the "conspiracy of silence" that encouraged 30-year-old players to behave like children, Casarin added that there were refs who built up acquaintanceships with club owners and who would otherwise "never be so rich."

Hot stuff, even without names. However, the Casarin affair hasn't yet the flavor of past Italian re-

fereeing stories, most of which lie under the rug. It is 10 years almost to the day since Father Eligio, a Franciscan monk who for eight years acted as spiritual adviser to Gianni Rivera and his cronies at Milan, brought the wrath of Italian referees upon himself.

All 38 first-class refs sued him for libel for stating in a magazine that all Italian referees were "either conditioned or corrupted."

Lord forgive him, the good monk confessed in private conver-

sations the names of clubs — but virtually on the steps of the libel court he recanted, withdrew his allegations and was pardoned by the withdrawal of the charges against him. He drove away in his BMW to consult the bevy of rich and pretty girls who helped him run a kind of Samaritan's service.

Whether Casarin, a mere signore, can ultimately call on such lofty protective powers remains to be seen. By tacit implication, he may have just lost a friend in high office.

Dr. Artemio Franchi, president of UEFA (the European soccer authority) and also chairman of FIFA's referees' committee, cannot have been oblivious to Casarin's dilemma in Italy nor to his having been chosen to referee UEFA's showpiece. Therefore he must have endorsed Casarin's selection, although the retraction was ultimately also Franchi's choice.

Franchi is too much the diplomat to say a word on almost anything controversial; he will almost certainly deny that observation; hence his silence earlier this month when in Florence, where he lives, one Italo Allodi returned to prominence as director-controller of the local club Fiorentina.

Silent the silver head of European soccer may be, but there are others who will explode at Allodi's swift return, not to mention his boast that he will make Fiorentina more powerful than Juventus inside two years and then will move back into the Italian FA.

Perhaps by then he imagines that Enzo Bearzot, the national manager and hero of last summer, will be discredited, fired or otherwise vulnerable? For Allodi was forced to resign as head of the federal technical coaching center near Florence by Bearzot's ultimatum that he could not work in an ambience where he had to look over his shoulder. Bearzot had previously called Allodi "a Brutus at my back."

Florence may not be Rome, but Bearzot is to Allodi as Otello to water.

Among the countless attempts at explaining it, the most sustained and convincing remains what Allodi calls a smear campaign by writer Brian Glanville. For more than a decade, Glanville has printed stories naming Allodi as the Mr. Fix-it of Italian soccer, "friend of referees and selected journalists, master of the transfer market, owner of a splendid art collection, failed professional player and a man without coaching background who rises to the £50,000-a-year post of the national coaching center."

All of that is polite banter compared to Glanville's published contention that Allodi, the general manager of Juventus in 1973 and before that secretary of International of Milan, was the central figure behind several well-documented allegations of bribery or attempted bribery of Italian referees.

In the face of evidence, statements and paperwork concerning an attempt to persuade a Portuguese referee to favor Juventus against Derby County in the 1973 European Cup, Allodi has never carried out his threat to sue. And now, in the neighborhood of world soccer's second most powerful administrator, he is back in power.

The Italian scenario may never change, but this time around the international game cannot afford to ignore serious accusations, past and present; ironically, the triumph of last summer assures that Casarin cannot simply be forgotten by removing him from the public eye.

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